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PAPERS OF LATE
SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

REEL No 4

III. Speeches and writings by Sir Mirza Ismail

S.No.	Description	Period	No.of pp.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Reply to an address presented by the citizens of Mysore.	1937	3	
2.	Convocation Address at the Calcutta University.	2 March, 1940	13	Printed
3.	The War and India's Future	[1940]	7	
4.	Speech on appointment as Prime-Minister of Jaipur.	1941	4	Draft
5.	Speech at Jaipur addressing the youth.	[1941]	8	Draft
6.	Address at the Siver Jubilee Convocation of the Patna University.	1942		Draft
7.	Speech at the Hyderabad Fellowship Tea Party.	1942	16	Printed
8.	Speech at the meeting of the promoters of the movement to organise a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in Jaipur.	1945	3	Printed

7

1	2	3	4	5
9.	Speech at the dinner at the farewell of Sir A. Lothian.	1946	5	Draft
10.	Speech as President of the Hyderabad branch of the Overseas League.	1946	2	
11.	The August Massacre	[1946]	7	
12.	Speech at the Diwali	1947	6	Draft
13.	Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Maharaja of Jaipur.	[1947]	2	Draft
14.	N.C. Kelkar	1947	4	Draft
15.	Mrs. Annie Besant	[1947]	6	
16.	Message to Bombay Chronicle at the Transfer of Power.	[1947]	2	Draft
17.	Address at the sixth convocation of the Rajputana University.	9 January, 1954	22	Printed
18.	Convocation Address to the University of Poona.	30 September, 1954	7	G. Proof.
19.	Speech at a meeting of representatives of various religions held at Dharmasthala.	23 November,	4	Printed
20.	"India To-Day" - an article contributed to the Statesman.	January, 1955	2	
21.	Speech at the opening of the Srinivasa Sastri Memorial Hall in Madras.	15 May 1955	3	
22.	An article on the State of Affairs in India.	21 November, 1955	4	

7

1	2	3	4	5
23.	India and Pakistan - an article.	9 June 1956	5	From the Economist, London.
24.	Speech at the convention held in Madras.	22 December, 1957	2.	
	Speeches and articles with dates not known			
25.	A Moral Revolution - an article		2	
26.	Report of a speech delivered by Sir Mirza Ismail at the Annual Session of the Indian Political Science Conference which met in Jaipur.		3	
27.	Some advise to the Mysore University		3	
28.	The Importance to India of the English Language.		6	
29.	'Youth', speech at a Session of the Students Federation.		4	
30.	Education and the New Social Order - a speech.		8	Draft
31.	Speech delivered at the Birthday anniversary celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi.		4	
32.	Address to the people of Hyderabad on assumption of		4	Printed
33.	Broadcast speech at Hyderabad.		3	
34.	International Perils of India and Pakistan.		4	
35.	Speech at some College in the South.		5	
36.	Maharaja of Mysore Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar's days.		4	

7

S.No.	Description	No.of pp.	Remarks
1	2	3	4
37.	Speech at Pilani	7	Draft
38.	An appeal to the youth of India - a speech.	7	
39.	Speech at a meeting of an Association in Calcutta.	2	
40.	Mirza Ismail's reply to an address presented by citizens of the Mandya District.	2	
41.	Speech at the inauguration of the 31st Session of the Marathi Literary Conference.	3	
42.	Mirza Ismail's reply to address of welcome presented on behalf of the Corporation of some city.	2	Draft
43.	Disturbances in India - an article	3	
44.	A plea for Communal Tolerance	3	Printed in the Hindustan Review
45.	Address at the Aligarh Muslim University	5	Draft
46.	An address to the students of the Aligarh University.	4	Draft
47.	Address at the Shivaji College, Berar.	2	Draft.
48.	Scouting - an article	4	
49.	Papers relating to the revised edition of Sir Mirza Ismails autobiography "My Public Life".		

7

Speeches & Articles by others

S.No.	Description	Author	Period	Remarks
1.	Sir Mirza's first year of administration in Jaipur.	A.P. Sharma	June, 1943	Printed in Indian States' Guardian
2.	Pen Portrait of Sir Mirza M. Ismail.	Raghavan	February, 1946	Printed in India
3.	Mysore: The old era and the new.	S.M. Fraser		Reprint from the Asiatic Review.
4.	Progress in Mysore from 1881 to 1951.	S.G. Sastry		Printed, 9pp.
5.	Prerequisites of Prosperity - speech at the Annual General meeting of the Tata Iron & Steel Company.	J.R.D. Tata	26 August, 1954	13, Printed.
6.	Sir Mirza Ismail	Ashfaque Hussain	January, 1959	2pp.
7.	Address to the 'Young European Group'.			4pp.
8.	Future relationship between the Indian States and British India.			4pp.
9.	The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms - an article.			5pp.

Other papers in the collection

1.	Notes (presumably for publication) on Kashmir, Pakistan Suez Canal and other matters.		1955-58	
2.	Note book maintained by Mirza Ismail.	1920-21		

7

Welcome Addresses presented to Sir Mirza Ismail

Address presented by the Vaidik Community of Bangalore on 15 January 1938, 4pp.		4pp.
Presented by M.C. Rangiengar on behalf of the citizens of Mysore.	24 July 1938	1p.
Calcutta Muslim Students' Association.	3 March 1940	1p.
South Indian Language.		1p.

A collection of philosophical aphorisms and quotations.

Publications:-

Firdausi	A Journal, Supplement to "The Near East and India". (Published on behalf of the Imperial Bank of Persia) 18 October 1934.
Shiraz (weekly)	15 September 1952. (Published from Hyderabad).
The Listener (Weekly)	25 February 1954 (B.B.C. Publication).
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7

Newspaper clippings

S.No.	Subject	App. Period	Remarks
1.	Clippings relating to Mirza Ismail.	1931-59	
2.	Hyderabad Affairs	1948	
3.	Kashmir	1953-56	
4.	Iranian oil dispute	1954	
5.	Goa question	1954	
6.	Suez Canal dispute	1956	
7.	China	1958	
8.	Miscellaneous	1939-58	
9.	Clippings from magazines containing photographs of the buildings in Mysore and some places in Versailles.		

INDIA TO-DAY.
By
Sir Mirza Ismail.

India, in common with many a country to-day, is entering an interesting and exciting phase of national existence. There is ferment, largely of a healthy kind, a manifestation of a keen desire for progress, while a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things is also in operation. Nevertheless, there is movement, not apathy, activity and hard-thinking - all hope-inspiring elements. A few observations may, perhaps, be permitted to a detached observer of current events and trends.

Governments in India, more especially the Central Government, in their impatience for rapid progress, would do well not to abandon caution. They would do well to pause and reflect in introducing changes of a radical nature. These should not be made, as they are being made to-day, in haste and without a clear demand from the public. It is no small part of a statesman's task "to know what to avoid." The functions of Governments are being extended to spheres which even a decade ago would have been thought of as outside governmental action. All this is being done in the name of that Will 'O the Wisp called the Welfare State, whose welfare one may well question, when the public themselves are so little satisfied with the measures taken in their name and for their benefit. The real Welfare State can never be imposed, can never be created suddenly and from above. Its essence is cooperative consent and effort. And it is most vulnerable before it is born. As "The Mail" of Madras so well put it in its issue of November 4, 1954, -

> The spirit of self-help is gaining ground - it is spreading like leaven through the whole nation -- wisdom counsels the Prime Minister and his Government, all planners and State Governments, to leave that process to continue, and not try to hasten it by experiments in dictatorship, for that way lies the destruction of all freedom, the dethroning of democracy in India, and the establishment of a Party tyranny.

While it is true that in this world of change, preservation means continual improvement, we must be certain that changes are not made merely for the sake of change, but to meet a pressing need or to satisfy a popular and just demand. As some one has said, there is a time for everything and the time for change is when you can no longer help it. An immediate aim of Governments should be to keep down the cost of administration as far as possible so that the burden of taxation may be lightened to some extent. Even America, as President Eisenhower observed recently, is endeavouring to do this.

Routine administration is apt to be neglected as something that can automatically look after itself. That is a common fallacy. The politician administrator is absorbed in the furtherance of spectacular schemes rather than in the efficiency of the administrative machine.

A close and constant watch has to be maintained if the day-to-day administration, which so directly affects the daily life of the public, is not to be neglected. Unless the machinery of administration runs with reasonable smoothness and swiftness, it is futile to expect the public to be satisfied. That slackness and inefficiency have, of late, crept into the administration and corruption has vastly increased are generally admitted facts. Free medical aid, free schools and colleges may be a feature of the Welfare State, but what is the good if they are not run properly? Nor should the Welfare State mean depriving a few of their property in order to distribute it among the many without any, or adequate, compensation. It is, for instance, seriously proposed to amend article 31 of the Constitution, which guarantees the fundamental right of the citizen to hold and enjoy property, and take away the jurisdiction of Civil Courts to determine the amount of compensation. Is this a step forward or backward ?

There are people who attack anything or everything that moves too slowly for them. They forget that we can build solidly only on a foundation of healthy evolution, not of rash revolution. They confound motion with progress.

I had occasion recently to say in a public address that mere expenditure of money on a lavish scale did not necessarily spell progress. Each major scheme has to be carefully prepared and as carefully carried out. I have my own doubts about those high-sounding Community Projects which are now under way in many places all over the country. My own experience tells me that village improvement (that was the modest term we used) could be effected at very much less cost. Let me give a specific instance from nearer home to emphasize my point.

I understand that Rs. 60 lakhs have been set apart for community projects in three taluks of the Shimoga District in this State. The amount is to be spent over a period of three years. If some fairy god-mother had offered me such a munificent gift, it would have taken my breath away. We had no such god-mothers in our time near at hand. Our resources were so limited that all we could afford to spend even on such desirable schemes was not more than Rs. 3 lakhs a year for the entire State, comprising seventy-two taluks. Nevertheless, I may, in all humility, claim that we turned out a substantial amount of work even with such a relatively paltry sum. As "The Hindu" of Madras (Nov. 11, 1954) points out --

> It is not at all quite clear that all the developmental expenditure of the past three years has been well spent. Experienced rural welfare workers like Mr. Sudhir Ghosh have expressed genuine doubts about the utility of the Community Projects and N.E.S. programme as they are operated now. So much of the expenditure on this programme is purely on the administrative side and so little of it is in the form of direct investment in rural betterment that Mr. Ghosh doubts whether it is having any significant effect at all on life in the countryside."

The larger the establishment the greater the scope for patronage, and patronage has its own value in our present democratic set-up. I warmly

echo this suggestion of the paper --

> It is high time that Mr. Nehru and the Planning Commission made a realistic appraisal of the achievements of the Plan in relation to the expenditure so far incurred, and revised the programme in the light of the resources available."

It is my own belief that any scheme that involves a disproportionately large expenditure on establishment stands self-condemned.

I have in my own day tried to practise State Socialism of the kind that I thought was best suited to the country, and even made a public declaration to that effect. It gave rise to no alarm, for no one could mistake its aim, but understood exactly what was meant by it. We did have some national industries started and owned by the State -- for instance, the Iron Works, Soap, and Silk Factories, etc. -- but there was no question of taking over industries already established or managed by private enterprise. On the contrary, every effort was made to encourage private enterprize by concessions and by direct association of Government in such undertakings. A healthy feeling of one-ness was thus created between the private and public sectors.

The ultimate goal of our efforts must be the solution of our economic and social problems. What millions of men and women really want on this wretched earth is enough food, better housing, clothing, medical care and education, more enjoyment of culture and a little leisure. These are the benefits of human society, the aspiration of ordinary men and women everywhere. That nation is a truly great and happy one which attains, or at least makes an earnest effort to reach, such a goal. Nor should the administration neglect those activities that bring recreation and mental enjoyment to the public. Such interests are necessary in these days of tremendous happenings if only to sustain public morale and effort.

In the field of industries, a widespread feeling persists, and was voiced by Mr. J.R.D. Tata in his notable speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in August last, that the private sector is not receiving sufficient encouragement or support from the Government. I quote a brief passage in which he arraigns the Government's industrial policy in sober, yet convincing, language. Such friendly and constructive criticism coming from an eminent industrialist, will no doubt receive the close attention of the Ministry of Industries and Commerce headed, as it is, by a Minister of undoubted ability and patriotic fervour. Mr. Tata said --

> More important, perhaps, than anything else, is the need to shed certain preconceptions which have long coloured official and political thinking in our country. For instance: that the profit motive is dishonourable; that profit is synonymous with profiteering; that industrialists as a class are inefficient or dishonest or both; that about 3% net is a fair return on risk capital; that the population problem will solve itself; that mechanisation means unemployment; that it is more important to impoverish the rich than to enrich the poor; that a Welfare State can be built without first creating the means to pay for it; that nationalisation creates additional wealth; that centralised State enterprise and management is socialism.

Again, the following observations are so pertinent that I am tempted to quote

them --

> I am sure that if our own Government would similarly try for a while and within reasonable limits the experiment of freeing the private sector from its present handicaps and uncertainties and allow it the necessary incentives and scope for initiative, they would be surprised at the results. No one would seriously suggest a return to complete laissez faire in economic matters. Besides taking active part in expanding, the State has to exercise general control over the economic activities of the country, to prevent undesirable trends, to provide essential services within society's capacity to bear them and to protect the under-privileged. I submit, however, that these objects are not served best by policies which tend to paralyse enterprise and initiation, encourage low labour productivity and concentrate economic power in Government to a self-defeating extent.

India is committed to mass democracy. It is a hazardous experiment that we have embarked upon and it behoves our leaders to take every possible precaution and exercise due vigilance to ensure that it does not land the country in serious difficulties. There is really no suitable alternative to democracy in the present day world. But the democracy of universal suffrage has, unfortunately, been introduced in India far too soon. We have, nevertheless, to work it, however indifferently it may be, and live under it, however uncomfortably. There seems no escape from it under present circumstances.

Democracy, we have been constantly assured, means government by public opinion. Its success must then depend upon ~~the assumption~~ that public opinion is good and strong. Democracy flourishes best under the light of a strong, sound and healthy public opinion. This is largely absent in India to-day. The public in general are uninformed, ill-guided, incapable as yet of economic or political judgment, and ready victims of slogans and empty promises. And Democracy soon breeds its own parasites, particularly in the East, and is ultimately devoured by them unless proper precautions are taken and necessary measures are applied in time. That is the concern and responsibility of right leadership. It is the task of leadership to keep the nation on the right ~~track~~ and protect it from possible disaster. Democracy with the western technique of majority rule is workable only in a homogeneous society, but it is not so easy to work it in an heterogeneous country.

In a country like ours, the great problem is how men can best be helped to live together in harmony. Confucius sought "to create a completely homogeneous community by the unification of men's minds, a community in which there would be general and spontaneous agreement as regards the objects considered worthy of desire and in which the careless, the selfish, and the anti-social would be subdued by the transforming influences of example and exhortation." This is what we need to-day and about this we can learn much from Confucius.

All in all, we can soberly and without boasting, feel some satisfaction at the way the Governments have functioned since Independence. There have, at any rate, been no political convulsions such as have been witnessed in the adjoining territory and beyond. India's prestige is high among nations, and her influence wide-spread. These are all things to be thankful for. But the problems to which I have referred become more and more urgent.

Features of the Administration.

The position of Mysore among the Indian States is to be judged not mainly by her size, population, revenues, natural resources, staple industries, architectural monuments, archaeological remains, romantic history and traditions, or central geographical position in the tableland, - though in the ensemble of these features her claims to primacy can be fairly sanctioned, - but chiefly by the distinctive features of her polity and administration.

Among the distinctive features of the administration are :-

(1) First and foremost, the reign of law:

Executive decrees, fiats, the orders of the Government, do not in practice have the force of law in Mysore; rulings or orders of the Government are contestable and contested before magistrates and judges just as in British courts.

Not that there are not large spheres of administrative law in Mysore as in British India and elsewhere in the East and the West alike; but that does not militate against the rule of law.

Personal government as a substitute for law, it is believed, has disappeared more completely in Mysore than in any other Indian State.

But Mysore has preserved intact the advantages of a personal administration; the human sympathy, the intimate touch with the people, the living zest, the untiring energy, the providence and forethought, that characterise (or tend to characterise) the governance of human affairs, where the administration is carried on in the spirit of personal rule, and not as a mere soulless machine.

Mysore therefore continues the advantages of a settled reign of law (as against the regime of executive orders), with those of personal administration. The evils of an over centralised organisation as well as those of an absentee overlordship, cannot flourish in such an atmosphere.

Take for example, the Hindu - Muslim problem. The Government of Mysore, it may be claimed, have been more than usually successful in dealing wi with the Hindu - Muslim communal friction. This is also true in great measure in the matter of industrial strikes. Not that these problems do not exist. With the British Indian 'volcano' in full activity in the vicinity and ever communicating seismic shocks, and with the full swing of modern progress in the State, Mysore cannot be free from movements of unrest, but the Mysore administration acts as a sort of a natural buffer, a standing Conciliatory Board, and this success is due to the peculiar conbination of the personal and the impersonal aspect in the policy and administration of Mysore. And it must not be forgotten that this maxim is no less applicable to the West than to the East. Indeed, an awakened 'Demos' is more amenable to the personal touch

7

and influence (and the instinct of leadership in the group life), and is in greater need of such leadership, than less developed forms of Polity.

(2) Mysore has been a pioneer in the field of what may be called intensive administration, in other words, administration definitely directed to the intensive development of the region and its resources.

No doubt, the foundation of all administration is the preservation of law and order, but in accordance with modern sociological ideals and methods, emphasis (though not the centre of gravity) is shifting more and more to the major half of administration that concerns itself with development.

And it is essential to the concept of a modern state and a progressive administration that this development be of an intensive character; in other words, it should map out the whole field, select particular problems for attack, lay down a plan of campaign in regard to each selected problem, divide this campaign into successive stages, and proceed by graduated steps towards the goal or objection which must be attained in a definite period of time.

This is intensive administration, but a big state is often at a disadvantage in adopting this intensive method of development. The maintenance of law and order over vast outlying areas with conflicting and heteorogenous elements of population necessarily diverts much of the administrative energy: - besides, scale of development is so large that the plan tends to break down. A small state on the other hand is in a very favourable position to pursue a campaign of intensive development, provided it is constituted and administered as a progressive modern state, and has the 'sinews of war', the necessary financial resources.

A few Indian States keep this ideal definitely before them, perhaps half a dozen: but in most of those cases the plan of intensive development is confined to one or perhaps two spheres of administration. Mysore pursues it far more comprehensively and far more systematically than any other Indian State. And hand in hand with this intensive administration, Mysore has developed a system of foreign scholarships and foreign deputations, which enables her to train officers in the most advanced science and technique that may be necessary for carrying on works however stupendous or elaborate. Mysore is thus intensively developing both the capacity of her people and the capabilities of the region.

The hydro-electric installation at Shivasamudram and the stupendous Kannambadi dam are two examples in the material sphere; the former at its inception was a pioneer enterprise in the world; the latter still figures as the second or third largest work of its kind in existence. In the novel sphere, we have the University of Mysore, the pioneer University in any Indian State. Instances can be easily multiplied.

(3) A unique feature of Mysore is that, alone among the Indian States, Mysore builds her own structure and organs, her own constitution and institutions, in adaptation to her own environment. This is the mark of a

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living organism, this original building power.

Two or three instances would be here apposite.

It was noted above that the idea of intensive development is a ruling idea in the Mysore administration. But though this is a distinctive feature, it is not a unique one. In Mysore is is far more pronounced than in any other Indian State. But what is unique in this connection is Mysore's originality and initiative in building an organ, an institution, for facilitating intensive development. Mysore has an Economic Conference, a central body for coordinating the work of the various development Boards (agricultural, industrial, commercial, scientific, educational etc.). These Boards and Conferences are bodies constituted for propaganda, survey, advice and experimental investigation. They help to educate the people and carry the campaigns of development into the interior of the districts. As a result of having such an intermediary body, Mysore is in advance of the rest of India as regards the rapprochment between the Government and the people, in the pursuit of an all-round intensive plan of development for the State as a whole.

Take another instance of an organ which Mysore has built up for her political self-expression - the Representative Assembly. In the Mysore State polity, the Representative Assembly does not make law (that is the business of the Legislative Council), but has for its characteristic function the representation of the wants and grievances of the masses, with powers of initiative and reference (in a general and informal sense). Mysore was the pioneer State in evolving such an organ, a sort of Panchayat of Panchayats, a characteristic expressive of the genius of Indian history and of the spirit of Indian culture and polity. In the same way, the Mysore State constitution under the Reforms builds on the Indian tradition, but extends and develops it so as to build up a progressive twentieth-century institution. Similarly, the Mysore University is engaged in an original attempt to solve the most vital problem of Indian education to-day, that of effecting an adjustment between the cultural and the economic needs of society. The Mysore Agricultural Department is also making an independent contribution in linking up the work of the Government farms with the work in the fields. These are only a few instances of what is typical of Mysore.

It is true that in industrial and agrarian policy, and in the system of taxation and of land revenue, the Mysore Government have followed closely in the footsteps of the British Indian Government without any specific adaptation to the environments but an independent investigation of Mysore's actual conditions and problems in these spheres has begun, and this may lead to fruitful constructive work.

Of course, the evolution of criminal law, substantive as well as adjective, and of civil law (other than personal law) must follow the same lines as in British India. They are conformable to the general trend of legal evolution in human history, and indeed the British Indian codes have in many respects served as models in the countries of the Far East as well as in

British Colonies in Africa.

It will be noted that both under (2) and (3), i.e. in carrying out constructive schemes of development, as well as in evolving indigenous organs and institutions, indigenous Indian talent has had larger opportunities of rising to its full stature in Mysore than in many other parts of India. Such openings are a much-needed safety-valve.

(4) It must never be forgotten that Mysore has had the inestimable advantage of fifty years' British administration, which laid the foundations of order in every department. The statesmen of Mysore have built on those foundations. This unique State has had a unique heritage.

In this noble institution, Mr. G.D. Birla, the happiest of men, has seen the fruits of his generosity and imagination. The education -in the widest and wisest sense- that is given here has already been the making of thousands of young men, and has so made them as to be useful, in an exceptional degree, to their people and country. Pilani may become a place of educational pilgrimage, for here ~~has been~~ established a system ~~of training~~ designed to develop the full capacity of every student -his capacity for happiness as well as for efficiency; and the abundant endowment has created the most favourable conditions for this. The achievement is possible only through the enthusiastic co-operation of every one concerned, ~~in this operation of the scheme,~~ under the direction ~~of the Trustees~~ of the Trust. ~~And Mr. Birla too is unreserved in his praise.~~ The Principal, regards the college with the eye of its founder and is the continual guide and inspiration of the innumerable kinds of activity that together make the atmosphere of the place. The members of the staff are not so much employees eager participants, and the students themselves respond to the liberty given them by a willing and loyal observance of discipline. They seem to have realised also that in their student days their whole task, the one contribution which they can make to their country's welfare, is to concentrate on their own training and bring their own powers to mature development. This attitude is a great testimony to the health of the college

There are many things that distinguish this school and college from those of the purely traditional type. There is speci l ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ cultivation of intimacy between staff and students; of such a variety of extra-curricular activity that every one can find some congenial and even responsible task, which makes him feel he counts for something; of physical development, through diet, hygiene, and exercise; of true discipline, proceeding from within. The idea is that those who are educated here should be better men than those ~~xxxxxxx~~ who usually emerge from colleges or universities, in a number of ways which are enumerated in the beautifully illustrated book about the college which I never received. The enumeration takes the form of a ~~vigorous~~ accusation against the average young man now produced by our universities. He is said to be ~~lacking in self-confidence, enterprise, adaptability, xxxxx modesty, determination and capacity for hard work~~ virtues found in abundance in the ~~forefathers of the present generation. Is this quite fair to them and to the universities? And is the contrast a genuine one?~~ It is repeated, when we hear that our present-day graduate is "a helpless bookworm with a dyspeptic physique, short eyesight, full of knowledge about things that do not matter, but hopelessly ignorant of things that do, timid to undertake any enterprise or adventure, full of exaggerated notions about himself, loud in claiming his rights, but slow in discharging his duty...good enough only for professions in which use is made of pen and tongue at the expense of other faculties."

The fault is said to lie partly with the universities, which (I quote) "have not prepared the syllabus with an eye to realities." Now this criticism of education in colleges outside Pilani is rather daring, not to say dangerous. It occurs in a passage justifying craft training for students. It condemns the universities for neglect of realities. But what are realities? Is an industrial craft a reality and are the facts and methods of science the truths of history, the truths of philosophy, the inspiration of literature -are these unrealities? [illegible] Universities surely exist for the purposes of education in a genuinely higher sense. The professions for which they educate are, in the main, the learned professions, not the training or the maintenance of a mechanic's shop. And their general education is meant for the cultural training of those who are intellectually fit. It is not right to blame universities for being universities, not vocational institutes.

Nor, I think, is the graduate produced elsewhere quite such a poor creature as he is represented to be; nor are colleges elsewhere lacking in the encouragement of games, physical exercise, and extra-curricular activities. However, as I N.P. have said before, there is something very special in the experiment, the very successful experiment, that has been made here. There is no doubt at all that those who study here are fortunate beyond their fellows elsewhere. One of the most interesting things in this institution is the compulsory craft training, and the altogether exceptional equipment for this in respect of different crafts. The benefit to the younger pupils is enormous. It is not so much vocational as personal. No doubt many a Guy who begins to learn a craft here does find it practically useful afterwards. But even where this is not so, the training itself, the practice in producing something with one's own hands, is of importance to personality. I think, however, that it should be realised that this is rather a school than a college idea.

a university idea or even an intermediate idea. It is at school that a boy can best learn these lessons of manual skill and respect for labour. If during his many long school years he has not learnt them securely he never will; and if he has there is no need to rub them in any more. At the degree stage, even at the intermediate stage, the student has more than enough to do in his timetable. In this college at least we may be sure that the social and athletic activities outside the class-room hours are quite enough to counterpoise the weariness of study and keep him fit and happy and give him chances of initiative. I do not wonder at the statement in one of your documents that these enior students are not very keen on the craft work. This is the only point in which there appears to have been any touch of failure in your scheme, and surely that touch of failure may suggest that just at this point the scheme is not entirely sound.

With you, I am looking forward proudly to the day when your degree classes will be in full swing. I think your academic results will be marvellous, because everything in the student's environment is so planned as to make him both strenuous and happy. Given equal ability in the students - and I dare say we may hope for more than that - and given a high level of instruction, which is not in doubt, you should for in this environment have a high percentage of distinctions, not to speak of passes. And all the time, as in your lower classes, you will be making men as well as graduates. I would request you, in the very interest of their manhood, to omit compulsion

altogether from your design for them. Do not compel them to play games: that is a perversion both of games and of human nature. Do not even drill them compulsorily. That is ~~not so bad~~ desirable with intermediates, who are but little beyond the schoolboy stage. But let the university man regard himself as a man. I think that in the Pilani atmosphere nearly all will ~~xixh~~ play games of their own will, and this is so far finer thing. And certainly, above all, no compulsory craft work!

I wish that you had science courses. It seems somewhat ~~xixxxxx~~ anomalous that only people from other colleges can be admitted to your own Technical Training Centre -since the qualification is I.Sc., and you have no I.Sc! This Technical Training Centre is a remarkable example of the enterprise and the spirit of service of this Trust and its founder, and of his extraordinary generosity once more.

It is my hope that soon all the college work both here and elsewhere in our State will be entirely under our own control, and not governed, however ~~indirectly~~ indirectly, by authorities outside, and separate authorities at that for intermediate and graduation work. Our own university, however small in its beginning, will fulfil our own educational ideals and will be specially adapted to ~~xxx~~ our environment and needs. It will be a great thing to have all the higher education in the State unified by ~~xixxxxxxxx~~ singleness of view, purpose, and administration. A university cannot be established cheaply, and one hears the ~~most~~ natural objection that all the extra money we can spare for education should be expended for the present on the expansion of elementary education, which is now so limited. ~~But this is not the view of the Birla Trust, and who, while devoting an immense amount of attention and money to elementary education have nevertheless xxxxxxxxxxxxx that~~ Family and it is of very great importance to the country that college and university education should be of the best possible kind, whatever this costs. That is the point. We ~~xxxxxxxx~~ cannot escape the duty of providing university education, ~~and indeed we must do all we can to expand it.~~ Those who are to be our leaders, both in administration and in other spheres, are being trained in our colleges.

Their fitness for their future responsibilities will depend largely on the quality and suitability of the training we give them. If we are to have university education at all, we must have it at its best, and this can never be when it is devised and controlled by outside bodies not specially concerned with us. The reason why we have thought it necessary to have our own university is that the ideas of fitness and efficiency that compel us to seek our own university, which shall include also intermediate studies. It is an actual necessity if our higher education is to be as good as we are determined it shall be.

To the students I have just one piece of advice to give. The usual precepts are not necessary here, because they are part of the very life of the place. All I ask of you is that you should take a lot of trouble about your English. I am speaking specially to students of Commerce. A little while ago, I said that the professions for which a university prepared men are the learned professions. Commerce too, so far as it is prepared for by a university course, is a learned profession. That is, those who have taken the B.Com. degree are supposed to be highly educated men, just like B.A.s or B.Sc.s, far above the ordinary errors of comparatively uneducated people. But I find that this is not so. I find that one can pass not only the Intermediate Commerce Examination but even the B.Com. Degree Examination while remaining sadly ignorant and incorrect in the use of the English language. The standard in English is far too low. You must not be content with it. You must make for yourselves a Pilani tradition of correct English, and not be content with what will secure a pass for you. This will pay you abundantly in life. If the Pilani Intermediate or Graduate becomes known in his office as the young man who knows English and can make drafts without a succession of horrible mistakes in grammar and spelling, he will be an outstanding man, marked for promotion and success. Besides, there is a real element of self-respect in knowing a thing just as well as you can.

An appeal to the youth of India

[Gentlemen: I am particularly glad that you have given me this opportunity to address you. I say 'particularly' - because I know that today I am speaking to men who are much younger than I am.] The aged are too often deaf to the voice of experience; but it is at least fitting that the fruit of experience should be offered to youth, so that youth can select from it what it considers to be good and discard that which it believes to be bad.

I do not suggest to you that anything good is ever achieved by the preaching of mere moral prejudice. Probably the contrary is true. Certainly, today throughout India a very great deal of moral prejudice is being both insiduously disseminated, and where the soil of discontent is ready to receive it, is scattered willy-nilly, an evil seed whose harvest can sustain no one.

Today there is much discontent in the world, and much in India. And it is that sort of discontent which is itself both a cause and an effect of world conditions as we see them now - already years after the second great war, and of conditions in our own beloved country at this most critical period in our history. Such discontent is born in ignorance and bred in that mental laziness on which dictators thrive, since it gives them the power they seek and enables them to remain dictators for just so long as they can prevent people from thinking for themselves.

These last few years have witnessed the downfall of at least two major dictators and some minor ones, but while others openly remain there are still more who have chosen to make their roles less obvious. Against these and their ambitious scheming we must constantly be on our guard. Should they triumph their periods of overlordship can be temporary ones only; but while they are in power they will surely stifle all intelligent thought, and when they fall, as fall they must, they will bring us all down with them to flounder as best we may in a vortex of such chaos as we behold in Europe in this enlightened and progressive twentieth century.

I would ask you to allow your minds to dwell for a moment on Europe and the deplorable conditions into which countries, once highly developed, culturally, commercially and industrially, have today inevitably declined, and have so declined as a final result of the rule of dictators and the consequent inability of whole peoples - peoples with brains and intelligence of a high order - to think straightly and to act intelligently.

In the south and south-east of Europe the aftermath of war is famine, disease and poverty, with millions of homeless people still trying to find their families, and with sporadic fighting still going on. Moreover, in these regions, as in onetime Poland and in the Russian Zone of Occupied Germany, Communist influence is nowadays the deciding factor in every matter whether it be of great or trivial importance. In Russia, itself a victor nation, the story of destruction and desolation is much

the same. The population, overworked, underfed, and mentally stuffed by the propagandists of Mr. Stalin, is morally as well as physically exhausted. In France and other European countries that were occupied during the war matters are not so very much better; and in Germany, where almost every city has been completely destroyed, there are no longer any normal living conditions but only such hopeless chaos that even when experienced it is difficult to believe.

Split in four Zones, and without regard for conditions other than those of actual military occupation, Germany, once a great centre of European culture and industry, does not now exist to the world outside its closely guarded frontiers. And an iron curtain separates the Russian Zone from those of the British, American and the French. Picture this extensive territory, with its cities reduced to rubble, without organised rail travel, its industry and agriculture destroyed, with virtually no commerce save in the black market, its families dispersed and existing at starvation level. Not even a hundred years of intensive labour can restore that country to its former condition; nor is there any means of even beginning the immense task of reconstruction on any but an absurdly small scale. A people weakened by hunger and morally shattered cannot work hard: moreover, machinery, seeds, fertilizer and a great deal more will be needed before much food can be produced. Without raw materials the factories are idle: there is no coal, and insufficient electricity to provide even a bare minimum for power and lighting. Without these even the occupation forces

cannot function efficiently.

The condition of Germany today is the complete answer to those ~~hhigan~~ bellicose sabre-rattlers, of whom there are many in India, who talk so wildly of settling our graver problems by force. It is also a warning to that particular dictator whose feet they kiss and whose every utterance they repeat with parrot-like sagacity, for the war has settled little if anything at all except the fate of one or two dictators. Europe's problems remain, and are now more complex than ever before. India's problems also remain, and they will not be solved by any further wars. They are fundamental problems. They face us all, irrespective of our creed, caste or condition, and they spring in one way and another from the necessity for us to achieve one great purpose. We must elevate the majority of our four hundred millions above a level of dire poverty, and we must do this without detriment to our individual and national self-respect and without the loss of our personal liberty. The task is stupendous, but it is not beyond our power to achieve it, and I do not doubt that we shall achieve it once we have conquered our most formidable enemy. That enemy is communal strife.

Today, at least not yet, our country is not threatened from outside; but it is threatened from within. As to that, my advice to you is to do your own thinking and not to be led into blindly following some dictator of the moment who desires to control everything himself and whose vanity must constantly

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be flattered by those about him and by periodical pieces of spectacular extravagance which can have nothing to do with the welfare of the people of India.

The edifice of our nation is of many fabrics. Geographically we are an entity sufficiently isolated from bordering countries to have kept our historical processes detached for long periods. Our peoples have thus acquired a stamp of character which, though of various designs, is basically different from those of other lands. This we are proud to call Indian. And though our ways of life may differ, and our religions and even languages be diverse, we remain Indians and as such are brothers, whether we be Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, or subscribe to any other religious belief.

In these, as in many other matters, India has long been a living example of tolerance, and an example which the world today might well follow. Nor has this solid core of age-old tolerance been seriously undermined even by the gravity of recent communal disturbances and killings. Judged in the scales of our numbers and of the diversity of Indian life we are probably still the most tolerant of all peoples, and it is vital that we should so remain, for we have many battles to fight - battles in which disunity will spell disaster. The whole problem of education must be attacked. Our cities must be made clean, and the conditions under which millions exist must be vastly improved. Our industries must be developed and our natural resources utilized. We must carry on the war against famine, disease and poverty.

Against these things we must and will fight: but we must not fight among ourselves. If we do that we shall commit a folly that will set us back perhaps hundreds of years on the road to progress and prosperity.

Thus, gentlemen, my advice to you is to think for yourselves. Think clearly and intelligently, and above all do not allow yourselves to be committed to imprudent folly by the swashbuckling utterances of dictators and their henchmen.

A speaker at a recent gathering in Hyderabad seems to have misunderstood both my viewpoint and my policy, for he he declared that my continued presence in that State as its Prime Minister would be harmful to some twentyfive lakhs of Muslims. Such clumsy utterances do not surprise me. The Fuhrer gives an order and some Gauleiter barks loudly. There is nothing new in that. But it is such unfortunate pronouncements as these which may do harm, not so much to individuals like myself, as to the maintainance of peaceful relations between two major communities.

Gentlemen: you have been most kind in giving me your attention for so long. I have this to add. So much is talked and written about the antiquity of India that many of us fail to see our country as a land that is young among the nations of the world - a land whose horoscope has not yet been cast. What does the future hold for us? That is for us to decide - intelligently or foolishly. Relations

between Britain and India are about to undergo vast and far-reaching changes. It is our duty to ourselves and to the rest of the world to ensure that those changes occur without convulsions, and to bring India peacefully but with strength into the scale of nations.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

Let me first thank you for your kindness in inviting me here this afternoon and for giving me such an excellent opportunity of meeting so many Mysoreans. It is a specially great pleasure to feel myself in Mysore in the heart of Calcutta.

Your Association has one principal object, namely, to make sure that no Mysorean visiting Calcutta shall feel a stranger in a strange land. Calcutta is to all of us in Mysore a land of poignant memories, symbolised by the memorial at Kalighat, over which I am sure your Association keeps a fostering eye.

Of the inhabitants of the British Isles the Scotchman has the reputation of being the most ubiquitous, the most ready by peaceful penetration to establish himself anywhere where the going is good. Of the inhabitants of India the Bengalee has the same characteristic in the greatest degree, I am very glad to see that the Mysorean is following these great examples. We have little colonies now in many parts of the world - in England, Africa, and Japan, in Assam, Burma and the Malay States, and we are always delighted to hear of their progress. More than all have we reason to be proud of this Association of seventy members which has dug itself in in the midst of a city of Bengalees and Scotchmen themselves, and is already in the tenth year of its existence.

The Scotchmen takes his products with him wherever he goes - his porridge for sustenance and his haggis for luxury. I am afraid the new doctrine of nutrition has hardly gained enough way

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yet for you to have introduced to the denizens of Calcutta the Mysore equivalent of porridge, the succulent and nutritious ragi ball, but I am sure that when you entertain them at your tea parties, of which you have given such a delightful specimen today, you will not fail to make them acquainted with the charms of Mysore pak, Mysore bonda and Bisi-bele-bhath, and having once enjoyed them here they will, I am sure, not fail to find their way to the Mysore Lodge a few houses up the road for further supplies.

You also make it a point, like good Mysoreans, to keep the Mysore festivals regularly and to show your respect for the portrait, flag and anthem of your Ruler. And I hope the day is not far distant when you will be able to bring to fruition your cherished scheme of establishing a Mysore Show Room and teaching the inhabitants this cosmopolitan city to appreciate the advantag of Mysore sandles and chemicals, drugs and ghotis, silk and shirtings, soap and sandal, ties and turbands and the hundred and one other products that our new factories are offering to the world.

May I say in conclusion that I appreciate above all your activities that of the Children's Day? We have in India many days named after many important people, some of whom it behoves us to remember, some of whom it might perhaps be better to forget. But there is one set of people whose day is more important than them all, and whom we should never, in our political and other preoccupations, allow ourselves to forget, and these are the people of the coming generation and especially the children of India and the children of Mys-re.

Let me first thank you for your kind words in which you welcomed me to the Mysorean Association. I too am glad that I have had an opportunity of meeting the many Mysoreans. It is a special pleasure to feel myself among people of the land of Calcutta.

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SNK.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you for the warm and sincere welcome that you have extended to me. Owing to other engagements I regret I had to deny myself the pleasure of performing the inaugural ceremony on the 1st July. I was however eager to visit the new District of Mandya at the earliest possible opportunity and I feel very happy indeed to be in your midst to-day. I greatly appreciate the sentiments of loyalty and attachment expressed in the addresses presented to me, one on behalf of the people of this District and the other by the Municipality of Mandya.

It is needless for me to dwell at length on the considerations which led to the partition of the old District of Mysore and to the formation of an additional district by a judicious detachment from the former of some of the taluks that could be conveniently grouped together for purposes of administration. There were cogent reasons for warranting the bifurcation. For quite a number of years, various schemes had been thought of to lighten the work of the Deputy Commissioner of the Mysore District. Comprised as it did of sixteen taluks and one sub-taluk it was about as heavy a charge as that of any two districts in the State in area, population and revenue and was admittedly unwieldy. Moreover, the rapid expansion in recent years of irrigation under the Irwin Canal and its tributary channels and the many problems arising out of the development of the area further increased the responsibilities of the officer. In view o administretive efficiency and public convenienc

7

the formation of the Mandya District could not any longer be postponed.

Not long ago Mandya was a small town of no particular importance. It is now transformed into a place of great industrial and agricultural activities. The Sugar Factory located at Mandya has developed into a successful industrial concern providing employment to many poor people. The extensive growing of sugarcane for supply to the Factory has materially benefited the agriculturists. There is a steady growth of population and a beautiful extension has sprung up by the side of the Bangalore-Mysore Road. It is but fitting that it should be the Headquarters of the newly formed District. As time goes on it will become more populous and perhaps the centre of more industries. Sooner or later you will be confronted with schemes for sanitary improvements and other works for providing civic amenities and I am sure you will pay adequate attention to them. My Government will always be glad to give their best consideration to local needs and reasonable requests for help. May I exhort you, Members of the Municipality to spare no efforts to make Mandya a model Municipal town ?

The District of Mandya has embarked on its career as a new unit of administration and I shall be watching its progress with a deep concern for the welfare and happiness of my dear people. That both the Districts of Mysore and Mandya may with God's blessing attain a full measure of prosperity is my earnest hope and prayer.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It gives me much pleasure to be called upon to inaugurate the 31st Session of the Marathi Literary Conference, the annual gathering of the Marathi Sahitya Parishad, which counts among its members almost all the distinguished Marathi men of letters, and among its patrons, many of the leading princes of Maharashtra, and to have a glimpse of the shining lights on the Marathi literary horizon. It is always a privilege to come into contact with the elect. To those who are absorbed from day to day in the humdrum business of administration, it is a welcome relief.

This is the second time that the Conference is being held in Hyderabad, — the first occasion being that of the 16th Session held in 1931 under the presidentship of Dr S V Katkar. Hyderabad may indeed claim more frequent sittings; for out of the 20 million Marathi-speaking people in India, about 4 million belong to the Dominions of HEH the Nizam. Marathwada is the home of ancient Marathi language and literature as well as the birthplace of many ancient Marathi classics. Of the four medieval masters of devotional songs, famous not only in Maharashtra but through the length and breadth of India — Ekanath, Ramdas, Tukaram and Namdeo — two belong to Marathwada. The record of modern Marathi literature in the various fields of lyrical poetry, drama, short story and the novel is also not negligible.

I do not belong to the category of individuals beloved of the Muses, but I have had the good fortune to cultivate the acquaintance and enjoy the friendship of a good many of them. My knowledge of Marathi literature can only be second-hand, although I know that Marathi occupies a very high place among the regional literatures of India. The Marathi Sahitya Parishad is trying in various ways to give impetus to the development of Marathi language and literature, and it has already a commendable record of achievement in that direction. It is not for me to trace the course of that development. But it is permissible to say that a great responsibility rests on those who have taken upon themselves the duty of serving their fellowmen with the written word, especially in these stirring times. The pen is mightier than the sword, and it is incumbent on those who wield the pen to see that its might is not used along barren, destructive or obscurantist lines.

An eminent American writer has observed: "From the age of the epic chant to the day of the shallow best-seller, literature has provided its followers with ideals and dreams and songs; it has appealed to his reason and fortified his courage; it has given him dissatisfaction with his present and hope for his future. It has even, in all languages and all lands, offered a scheme for human perfection, either here or in a hereafter. More than anything else it has provoked the rise and fall of nations, the evolution of ideas that have become social compulsives. Today in a small and quickened world, the word has an especially fateful potentiality."

It is this potentiality of the written word for good or for evil that imposes upon writers the solemn obligation to recognise the fact that literature should conform to the ideal of human progress, should aim at realising the true, the good and the beautiful in human life. We are of course familiar with the slogan, art for art's sake. But a healthier and loftier slogan to my mind is, art for life's sake. "It is often said" observes an English writer "that art as art has nothing to do with morality. The reply is ---- art is vitally connected with morality. Art grows out of life; it is fed by life; it reacts upon life. This being so, it cannot disregard its responsibilities to life." This is as true of the literary art as of the other arts; and as true of Marathi literature as of other literatures. In art, as in everything else, all that are life-giving remain, other things pass away.

This does not mean that literature should be expressly didactic; it means that it should be informed with a moral purpose, determined by the needs of the preservation of the integrity of our national being. [redacted] We are passing through a great national crisis. We see disruptive forces at work on all sides. Cries of communal cleavage, linguistic isolation, parochial patriotism fill the skies. The Indian renaissance which, true to the Indian tradition, started with movements for religious revival, such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna mission and other similar institutions, and flowered here and there, notably in Bengal, in literary creation of the highest order, has been side-tracked into political propaganda and counter-propaganda. The situation is nebulous and chaotic. We owe allegiance to false gods. We are assailed by fears and suspicions. We are not of one mind. We speak with many voices. It seems as though the gods have created confusion of tongues to prevent the tower of Indian freedom being raised at all.

Each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

The dream of an India built on the western model, socially as well as politically, which had seized our intellectuals during the latter part of the nineteenth century is dead; — the dream of an India, reinvigorated by Western culture, but free from its dominating influence, firmly based on her ancient wisdom, yet rising high and spreading out towards the whole world, that dream is coming to birth. Yet in the present turmoil, [redacted] it seems nowhere to be born. It should be the task of those who guide the thoughts of men to create in us the power to lift ourselves from the filth of communal passion, the littleness of regional politics. It should be their task to rescue our national life from the

morass of mutual recrimination. It is my hope and belief that Marathi literature will prove equal to the task. In the words of the American writer quoted before what we need is "a literature of compassion ~~of~~ and love, by no means weakly and sentimental, but strengthened by an awareness of the mystery, the sweetness, the burden, the loneliness of the mere act of living; by an invitation to us to meet and understand and like each other, by a recognition of the soul that breathes through humanity. It should ignore distinctions in race or colour and creed and nationality and should concentrate upon the value of man as man, a being who through the ages has been obstinately, blindly, and sometimes with astonishing unselfishness, climbing towards a summit which ~~he~~ he can scarcely have glimpsed."

[redacted]. So far as the Hyderabad State is concerned, the Osmania University provides facilities for the prosecution of studies in Marathi up to the M.A standard. Scholarships for deserving students and for research work in Marathi language and literature have also been founded for. The Maratha library at present contains about 3000 volumes and efforts are being constantly made to add to the number; and the University has acquired the valuable collection of Marathi manuscripts in the Hakeem M Qasim Collection. Attempts are also being made to compile a history of the Deccan, from materials derived from Maratha sources. The Govt of H.E.H also gives regular grants to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Women's University. Besides, valuable contributions have been made by Maratha scholars of the University to modern Marathi literature. It has always been the policy of H.E.H.G to foster and promote the local languages in the Dominions; and that policy remains unchanged today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now declare the Marathi Literary Conference open. I trust that under the able guidance of your president, the Conference will be a great success, and ___ a landmark in the history of the progress of Marathi language and literature

Many unexpected things have happened to me in the course of my life, but this occasion ~~tops the list of those~~ surpasses them all as a source of abounding joy and surprise, in both surprise and pleasure. It is indeed a signal honour you have done me, in presenting me with an address on behalf of the Corporation of this City and in inviting me to meet so distinguished a gathering of its citizens.

In your generous remarks you overrate my humble service; yet your words are inspiring for they declare what every happy servant of his country must yearn to be. With all my heart I respond to this friendliness, ~~and accept these~~ in a spirit of ~~[illegible]~~ and comradeship with your own devoted labours for city and State. But I feel that in your sincere, spontaneous cordiality you are uttering far more than a personal welcome. This gathering, and those words of yours, have a more profound and lasting significance. We are enjoying this evening a cheering and heartwarming friendliness; but also, be it spoken reverently and with fear, we are making history. These are times when old antagonisms and rivalries are more sharply revealed than ever before, when conflicting interests, between States as well as within them, seem just now the more bitterly conflicting because we are all so deeply longing for their reconcilement. I will tell you the secret thought that, amidst bafflings and buffetings, unceasingly consoles me. It is this --- that the very force that now invigorates party against party and man against his fellow-country-man - that very force is the new-discovered, re-awakening power that at last will make India one. This secret I have learnt, this ultimate fact in truth and the power of Concord, from the Saint who rules over the throne of Mysore.

We in Mysore have always condemned as pure illusion the idea that between the Indian States and British India there can be any real antagonism of interest. ~~We have our State, and~~ Ours is a common destiny. The two Indias, so-called, no less than the great Communities inhabiting the vast Country, are bound together by ties of a

should be most unworthy Indians if we did not.

But we are not disciples of that ~~distinguished~~ Greek who ~~proclaimed that the part is greater than the whole.~~ We rather feel, with that English poet ~~who is to be evaded by~~ neither Madrasee nor Mysorean, that -

> She that herself will sliver and disbranch
> From her material sap, perforce must wither,
> And come to deadly use.
>
> Oh, that every creed and party and region
> Might learn the lesson of the severed,
> Sapless branch!

This gathering to-day stands for the unity and health of India. May the time soon come ~~to her~~ when, with economic harmony, political federation, and that spontaneous co-operation among communities, United India may be ready for her destiny.

Of such a future, we enjoy a foretaste at this moment, and for this and all your kindness I shall ever be grateful.

Disturbances in Amritsar

7

I find it impossible to remain silent when our beloved country is torn by futile dissension just when unity is most needed; and when foolish hatred is finding expression in violence and brutal murder. All this is contrary to the public will, which deeply desires peace and unity, and detests inhumanity. It is not the public will but the irresponsibility of trusted leaders that has made the circumstances in which such terrible things are being done, and has roused the feelings that inspire them. This responsibility has now, perhaps, been realised, for all leaders are doing their very utmost to check the evil.

But no effort to restore peace to India can possibly succeed unless two conditions are fulfilled. First, the leaders of different parties must achieve, in relation to each other, both in the central government and throughout the country, a genuine spirit and purpose of co-operation, with utter forgetfulness of sectional aims. Even rival needs of the most genuine kind must, for this moment at least, be forgotten, and loyalty to the motherland must alone remain. For if this is not done, every section of the people will sink in intolerable suffering and the smaller as well as the greater policies will flounder.

The second condition is that of complete public co-operation with the Governments and between sections of the people. This is the appeal that is being made by all the great leaders. And what they mean is this - that

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no man of goodwill can at this crisis remain inactive. It is the duty of every citizen to exert himself to stop these present savageries. He may have to take personal risks, he will probably have to make sacrifices; but for the sake of his country and all his people he must perform this duty. Even the humblest can do something to produce an atmosphere of conciliation and friendliness. And very many, in the affected areas, can make opportunity of direct influence upon events - for example by destroying false rumours, by explaining the demands of humanity and patriotism to those who are less enlightened, and often by the actual physical defence of those of other communities who are being attacked.

There is a further duty - the whole-hearted support, at this critical time, of authority in all things. The Governments are hard pressed: they are doing their very best to restore order and make it secure. Even criticism of them at this moment, not to speak of any resistance to them, is a grave disservice to the country. This would hold, even were they foreign Governments. But now they are our own Governments, and for the first time real Government by Indian statesmen has its opportunity, and is on trial. Let us be proud to stand by them.

If such an appeal as this were responded to by all enlightened people, India would be saved; the disturbances would cease almost instantly, with the rounding-up of the goondas; and such an atmosphere

would be created that there could be no recurrence of these evils and the way of India's progress would be open before us.

A Plea For Communal Tolerance

By Sir Mirza Ismail

Politics have long been the curse of India, monopolising the conversational and public utterances equally of our great men and those of lesser distinction, too often stifling intelligent thought of other and more important matters, too often transforming the possibility of useful action into a torrent of futile words, formerly as useless as they now are harmful.

During the past few months our leaders on both sides must have created some new world records in word-output. Over-anxious that their respective Dominions should stand well in the eyes of the world they hurl charge and counter-charge at one another, in flagrant disregard of what must be generally known to them all, that such inflammatory utterances, whether justified or not, cannot induce that spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding which, particularly today, is vital to the welfare of both Dominions. If these leaders can be induced now to refrain from provocative utterances, to substitute tolerance and forbearance for sabre-rattling and impetuosity, and above all, to abstain from unnecessary speech, such restraint on their part will greatly aid this sub-continent in its present troubles.

The partition of India has created throughout the country a new sense of communal separateness, and on both sides a greater hostility. The hasty withdrawal of the British and the division of the armed forces have weakened the ability of both Dominions to control violence. The panic-stricken fight to millions from one Dominion to the other has meant the loss to each Dominion of a great body of people who were indispensable to its prosperity, and while facing each Dominion with the impossible task of providing adequately and immediately for a host of immigrants, has disrupted the daily life of cities and provinces in both territories. Moreover, the resources of many parts of both Dominions which formerly were freely exchanged throughout the country as a whole are now, on account of supicion, hostility and an absence of that sense of mutual obligation which was natural in an undivided India, locked, as it were in separate compartments to the detriment of the country as a whole.

Immense Problems.

The tasks which face our leaders of both Dominions—tasks which must be undertaken simultaneously and at once—call for intelligent action based on mutual respect and goodwill. They are immense problems, and only when tackled in a determined spirit of mutual generosity can there be any hope for their reasonable solution. The fact that they are problems which have been created by the leaders themselves should eclipse any personal satisfaction which these leaders may experience when indulging publicly in mutual recrimination. They have accepted partition, and on that basis their task is now to set their respective Dominions in order and not to threaten, much less engage in, rash adventure outside these Dominions.

Wanted Policy Of Co-operation.

In the main, the nature of their tasks is identical. Communal strife must be eradicated Migration must be stopped and, where possible, refugees returned to the places from which they came. It is necessary to repair damage done and to restore law, order and normality in disrupted localities If a policy of co-operation is pursued by the leaders on both sides all this can be done, and as repatriated people resume their old way of life and their former place in society, each Dominion will be strengthened socially and the fatal idea of the community state will cease to dominate India

Problem Of Refugees.

Great efforts have already been made to cope with the refugee problem, but there is need for far more comprehensive and effective organisation Genuine administrators would revel in the difficulties of this task, provided they had competent and honest subordinates There lies much of the trouble When public affairs and service morality in our country have sunk as low as they have, it ill befits us to pose at international conferences as the apostles of high morality When we have become so completely intolerant how can we, with any conscience, pose as the apostles of tolerance? How can we pose as the apostles of unity when we are the most disrupted of peoples? A spell of modest quietude would befit our delegates as it would our leaders. As to the refugee problem, there is no doubt that if men of ability and honour were consistently preferred for office, high and low, and in scorn of nepotism and mutual obligation, that problem would be dealt with very much more efficiently and considerately While those in the process of migration must be protected and cared for, without discrimination or thought of retaliation, the greatest possible effort must be made to diminish migration through clear demonstration of the will and power to treat minorities decently. Mr Jinnah has urged Muslims in India to remain there and to play their part in the life of the country. His advice in this respect is sound

Silence Of Wisdom.

Another task which concerns the two Dominions and the States is to speed up their consultations regarding political and economic matters Here again a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding is vital Moreover, there is not a single sphere, whether of foreign relationship or of home development, in which an understanding between the two Dominons will fail to be of great advantage to both As for defence, we had an army second to none Its destruction has been a calamity, and the present employment of what is left of it is fraught with dangers for us all The best that could be done now would be to bring the two Dominons' armies and those of the many States into as close a unity of organisation as possible

No one can fail to recognise the difficulties of these various problems but the well being of our people the future of our country, and our international reputation all depend on our ability and determination to solve these problems

Every genuine patriot will still owe his paramount loyalty to India in the old wider sense Moreover, far seeing loyalty to the narrower India or to Pakistan will realise that their interests require this wider loyalty on the part of their people. But we need a profound psychological

change, away from sectional ways of thought and effort. Our leaders should exert themselves to the utmost to bring about that change which will not be achieved by charge, counter-charge, and the bitter monotony of unceasing recrimination. Their silence now would be the silence of wisdom.

Address at the Aligarh Muslim University

To-day I am fulfilling a long-cherished desire, that of visiting this great and profoundly interesting university, and I much appreciate, also, the invitation of.....to address the members of the university. The ideals of this university are of the noblest quality -so noble as to be far beyond realisation except by the persistent labours of many generations. Not in a day can you build for all time, slow and unforced is the growth of the fruits of the spirit. And if, from time to time, you have set with failures and discouragements, this is the surest proof that the end is worth your toil.

Do I rightly conceive that end? It cannot be the establishing of a communal university, to limit youth's horizon and bind a free and generous heart, to guide in the narrow, sunless paths of communalism those whose interests are for the broad human highway. "The Muslim University." In what sense shall it be Muslim, in what sense a university? Is the phrase really, as at first sight it appears to be, a contradiction in terms? To avoid that, we need a new grammar, in which the adjective is completely governed by the noun! The most insidiously deadly enemy of the essential idea of a university is spiritual exclusiveness.

This idea, I am sure, has no place here. Yet I mention it because a special guard has

always to be on duty to watch against its invasion. There is no doubt whatever that in an institution whose members are ~~exclusively~~ all, or almost ~~exclusively~~ all, Muslim, or Hindu, or Christian, the temptation towards spiritual exclusiveness will be felt; and if it is yielded to by a university in even the slightest degree that university is doomed to futility or worse.

In the Aligarh University, I take it, your high ambition is ~~[illegible]~~ scholarship, ~~[illegible]~~ on the one hand, to preserve and develop Islamic learning and culture, not simply in themselves but in their widest relationships, and, on the other, to train the Muslim youth of to-day as they ought to be trained. Intensive work of the former kind is bound to be of very high value not only to Islam but to mankind. But what of the latter, more practical aim? One trembles to think of the responsibility of Aligarh. This may be said to be the central higher institution for the training of the Muslim youth of the country. Such, at any rate, is the position for which this university is destined if it proves worthy. In the natural course of things it will come to pass that Muslim leadership in India will take its

attitude and temper from Aligarh, and trace to Aligarh its efficiency or its ineptitude. It is hardly too much to say that if Aligarh gives its men breadth of knowledge and of view, ~~and substitutes for~~ flaccid, self-complacent tolerance of others but that living sympathy that comes from a sincere effort at understanding, ~~if Aligarh's policy~~ Aligarh, hating hatred and despising contempt, teaches young men the duty of communal as well as personal humility and restraint, then Aligarh will dominate for the uttermost good the Muslim mind of this country, and make a wonderful contribution to the ~~Commonwealth~~ health and well-being of federated India.

Certain questions occur to me, which it would be impertinent for me to ask, but which the University or its members might, without impertinence, ask themselves. -Are the students of this university trained in religious bias, or in religious understanding? Of course I do not mean that ~~the~~ it is bias to be a firmly believing and scrupulous practising Muslim. But -is any opportunity of understanding other religions, the greatness of their teachers, the sublimity of their ~~teaching~~ thought and impulse, the sincerity of their devotees -is such an

opportunity delib rately given to the students of Aligarh? Surely our times in particular requ're this.

No doubt here, as in oth'r universities, th' energies of the stud nts are ~~dis-~~ distributed among many and most various "optional" subj cts of study. I think it as likely they in a new and vigorous university like this, great efforts are made to avoid spoon-feeding, and to put some life and exploration in o the w rk of the student himself. So far, so good. There is information of several scholastic kinds. There also is mental discipline But -gain I do not asking, only wondering inwardly- leaving aside the stud nts for the moment, how many professors, lecturers, tutors, in this universit have read th r ports of the two Round Table Conferences? Can the Aligarh staff, individu lly, bring any sort of armoury of hard steel facts into operation in any discussion of the present political situation in India? If not, what in heaven's name is to become of the students? I doubt whether there ever was an age or country so contemptuous of facts as India, today in general, today. And the students of India, like their elders, have a wonderful faculty of vigorous, skilful and endless debate without any data at all. How easy it is to argue, and to-

In India, now, there is enough enthusiasm to work miracles, and not enough knowledge to understand a Reuter cablegram.

become impassioned; how hard to do a little clear, honest thinking! How desperately hard to delay arguing, rhapsodising, even thinking, cursing, until one has painfully accumulated a little knowledge!

It is to be hoped that, here in Aligarh, students are really fitted for a life of efficiency and usefulness and happiness, and not one of these can be attained, nowadays, by an educated Indian if he is so ignorant of the practical affairs of India as his university education usually leaves him. May it be far otherwise with Aligarh!

An address to the Students of the Aligarh University,

Most of the students of this university belong, no doubt, to Muslim families who preferred, at the time of the great migration to Pakistan, to remain in India. And how right was this decision! Inter-migration was, or at least should have been, no part of the idea of partition. The migrations have been a very grave misfortune, to India and to Pakistan and to the persons and families concerned. How many thousands it has ruined! What problems it has created for both the governments! But fortunately there are a large number of Muslims who did not cease to regard India as their native land, in which they can live happily and make ~~their lives and play their part, making~~ their own vital contribution to its prosperity. It is impossible for enlightened people to regard the future India as an essentially and exclusively Hindu state, and this is very far from being desired by those who guide its destinies. India needs the breadth of outlook and the strength that can come from the harmony and united effort of the peoples of different races, religions and provinces. There are, of course, special spheres in which, by tradition, Muslims are particularly useful; but they should also play their part in the administration and the services, at all levels. There ought to be, and I am sure there will be, a good future for worthy Muslim students. ~~Such ideals~~ All this can be realised only in an atmosphere not merely of tolerance but of mutual respect and consideration, and such an atmosphere can come only from free and natural daily intercourse, such

as has been customary in this university. It is of great importance that both Hindus and Muslims, here and everywhere, should try to understand each other's culture and way of life. Much depends, of course, on the policies and attitude of the central and provincial governments. But it is of equal importance that the individual, while remaining proud of his own race and religion, should free his mind not only from hostility but from every sort of prejudice.

To-day, unfortunately, the two states, India and Pakistan, are poles apart, distrustful of each other, unready to co-operate or compromise. The spirit of compromise is essential to all political intercourse. So long as both India and Pakistan are so very wary and suspicious and so determined to have their own way that neither will give way an inch to the other, none of their urgent mutual problems can ever be solved. If only a beginning can be made in rational adjustment of claims, the habit will grow, and gradually the two states will develop that co-operation without which neither can stand secure. I long to believe that the future, the near future will be dominated by a spirit of reconciliation, and that gradually these states may be linked together, more and more closely, in all that pertains to their prosperity -in industry and commerce, with that easy exchange of products which is absolutely essential to both, in finance, in defence, in foreign policy. And who knows whether, at last, they may become one state again? That is looking far ahead, much farther than we can see at present; but the great destiny of this land cannot be fulfilled otherwise.

Every student who is listening to me now must be wondering what the future holds for himself. That depends on many circumstances, but particularly upon his own worthiness and whether he takes full advantage of the chances given him by providence. The future of every student, in fact, is being shaped by himself now. You are engaged in a great variety of studies. Some of them are professional. In such cases it is quite obvious that the greater the effort now the better for the future career. Many, however, are preparing for degrees that do not give a specific qualification for a particular profession but are of value merely as education. This is the sole value even of a science degree in many cases. How few science graduates have any intention of actually practising physics or chemistry or biology as a profession! But I should like to emphasise this, that in a university the purely educational degrees are really the most useful of all. The unpractical degrees have the greatest practical value! They are the best preparation for life, whatever be the form that life will take. Never imagine that you can be slack in your studies because after all you won't be using this sort of knowledge afterwards, and it will have no bread-and-butter value, and anyhow you are sure to forget most of it. That is a complete ~~and disastrous~~ misunderstanding. These studies can be the making of you. They build you up, and give you intellectual strength and a kind of inward power that can mean success and leadership hereafter. In these university years you are either accumulating or refusing mental health and wealth, which matter enormously in the pursuit even of material prosperity. So conscientious work now is an

the best possible investment. I do not mean because it brings a university degree, but because it makes a valuable man. Only a small proportion of university graduates are the men they should be, the men they would be if they had decided to make the most of their college years. All the better for the wise minority who, while still students, look ahead to life and try to become fit for that stern conflict with fortune.

Of great intellectual value too is the work of your university societies, especially in discussion and debate. All should join in this, not only a few keen men. Every student should be a keen man, -and that often makes up for lack of distinguished ability. Character and determination lead to achievement. Physical fitness and development is highly important also, if life afterwards is to be a success, and you are lucky that this university pays so much regard to this. And finally, if you take every opportunity -and make opportunities- of social service, now, this is a fine preparation for the social obligations of an educated citizen.

One of the best things that have ever happened to this university was the appointment of Dr. Zahir Hussain as its Vice-Chancellor. Few have so profound an understanding of ~~education~~ German values. From him all the students may learn the necessity of culture and intellectual and spiritual discipline. If you do your best to follow his precept and example, you will have taken the first, decisive step towards success in life.

And do not forget that men like your Vice-Chancellor, while essentially Indian in outlook, are familiar with the culture of the West and its immensely valuable social and political experience. And this is because of their familiarity with the English language. It is vital to you and to your future that you also should try to attain such familiarity. It would be an excellent thing if the Aligarh student could get reputation for an exceptionally good knowledge of English, for wide reading, and for understanding of world affairs.

Address at the Shivaji College, Berar

The beneficent work of the Shree Shivaji Education Society may be said to have reached its climax in the establishment of the Shivaji College. The Society has already conferred the benefits of secondary education upon thousands and thousands of young Beraris from all parts of Berar; and this has been made possible by the enthusiasm and generosity of a large number of people, to whom this day of still greater promise is a ~~reward~~ reward, and a stimulus to renewed generosity. His Exalted Highness, with ~~his~~ traditional and personal concern for the people of this region, has always been keenly interested in their educational progress, and appreciative of the endeavours of this Society; and his munificence on this great occasion is a further and very substantial example of this. ~~This~~ His donation is no stranger's gift. And it ~~helps~~ both emphasises and encourages the essential unity of Hyderabad and Berar, a unity which, in its future development, is full of promise for the welfare of both.

I feel that, by natural affinity, the people of Berar and of Hyderabad are drawing ever closer together, and their destiny is one. Every sign of this is to be welcomed -for example in education, and particularly in higher education. Just as the political individuality of Berar can most naturally and fruitfully be realised in the closest association with Hyderabad, so, I think, educational development may best proceed in the closest association with the Osmania University, with its great resources, high ideals, and already rich experience. I said association, not ~~of course~~ identification. A new university for Berar is much spoken of, and this idea is worthy of serious and urgent consideration. ~~And~~ If ~~this~~ such a university is to come into being, it must have its own individuality, and amidst the wide purposes of

cultural and professional education, must also have its special regional purpose and function. Nor must it ever be cheaply established and maintained. Without a guaranteed sum of at least three lakhs a year for the expenses of the university only, quite apart from college expenses, it is simply not worth while -in fact it would be discreditable- to begin a university. The day is past when a reputable university can be a merely affiliating and examining body. It must, apart from its colleges, be a centre of research and of advanced studies controlled by men of high scholarship and reputation, adequately paid. It must not be willing to fill its coffers by means of low-standard school examinations. As in other affairs, ~~xxxx

It is encouraging to see so large a gathering of scouts and their leaders at this rally; and to learn how largely attended, how successful, and how enjoyable the camp has been. This is an earnest of future effort and of that immensely larger development of scouting in the State without which the movement here cannot be regarded as a complete success.

I wish it could be said that Jaipur State scouting was regarded by the public with enthusiasm or even with interest. There are many, unfortunately, who actually belittle it. They ask, "what is the use of all this paraphernalia and display and expenditure? What are the scouts really doing for the State or for any one? Where are we to find their record of useful service?" These critics make several different kinds of mistake. First, I would ask them, "Have you ever sought the aid of scouts in anything? If you have, has not that service been willingly and efficiently performed?" There are several kinds of public service for which we have come to rely on scouts and particularly rovers, and many other services they would gladly render. But there is another mistake of a profounder kind made by armchair critics of our scouts and scouting. They imagine that such public service is the be-all and end-all of scouting. I should very much like to clear away this idea once and for all. Scouts are not honorary public servants. A body of scouts is not a body of reserve police. Scouts are very glad to help, for example, at festivals or at railway stations, though they do expect to be treated with courtesy by the public they are serving. It is really an extraordinary thing when school and college rovers, carrying out faithfully on the cricket field the difficult duty assigned to them, are abused by ill-bred spectators who never did anything to help any one.

But plainly and simply, scouting does not exist for public service. It exists for the good of the scout. I do appeal to all enlightened and generous-minded people to consider this matter with understanding and sympathy. Scouts are boys. They are being educated, trained, prepared for life. In our schools, as we all know, the training they receive is nothing like what need, even in book-lore; and in point of physique and character and attitude towards life and other people it gives them practically nothing. Scouting comes to the rescue. If all our boys were scouts the net result of school education would be a thousand per cent more valuable than it is to-day. For scouting gives them just what their souls and bodies need. It means physical fitness, mental alertness, quick reactions, the zest of adventure and discovery, for it is the very essence of scouting that everything is a joyous personal adventure. What then of service? Scouting teaches, it cultivates, it confirms the very spirit and attitude of service, the desire to serve, the willingness to spend oneself in service. It teaches also, no doubt, to a considerable extent, the mechanism of service: it does make boys expert in doing certain useful things. But that, though important, is quite secondary. A true scout, a person who has duly profited by scout training, is one in whom, by the care and affection of his scouters, this miracle has been performed, - that he in sober truth cares for his neighbour as himself. You see then what I mean when I say, "Scouting does not exist for public service". What a scout in his schoolboy days may as a scout perform is nothing, compared with what he and his leaders are making of himself, for a far wider and more subtle future usefulness. Therefore, it is a mean and ignorant thing to assess scouting by what, in the course of their training, scouts may do ny way of service, however much or little

that may be. The only thing to consider even for a moment is whether this movement is being so directed, so guided, and above all so conducted by the rank and file of our scouters, as to make the very most of the boys so few, alas! - who have entered on this path.

What is to be done for them is an inexhaustible subject, and one which I know most people here have studied carefully. There have been innumerable discussions as to why scouting is not more "popular", and blame has been distributed liberally among ignorant parents, Olympian organizers, reluctant teachers, umsympathetic headmasters, and lazy boys. None of these classes is sinless: all should take thought and ask themselves whether they are contributing what they ought to the movement. Among the many reasons why scouting here and elsewhere falls so far short of the wonderful success it might be, I think there is one central reason that counts for more than all the rest. And that is simply the general dulness and monotony of many of our scouting programmes. The programme of every crew or troop pack must be <u>exciting</u> , it must offer adventure. It must not come from above, by means of organization. It must be the inspired creation of the scouter himself. Why, in the nature of things, a scout meeting ought to be, and may be, far more attractive than any cinema or football match; and if you have a real programme boys will flock to you and stay with you and the most hostile parents will begin to bless you.

Though there is so much more to do, how cheerful it is to look round to-day and see how much is done! There are very many people here to whom the youth of the State and the State itself owe the deepest gratitude. Devotion to scouting, exemplified in so many leaders that have come to this camp and rally, does bring happiness, but it means real and persitent sacrifice. Let us all remember this. When, for example, we pass the city Headquarters near the

Museum in the evening and see a scoutmaster busy with his boys - let us remember, and let him rejoice, that in this unselfish and unambitious labour he is setting a rare example to all who address themselves to the civic and political life of our country. The number of those who are content thus to give freely is so small. But both by his example and by his influence he is doing all he can to increase that number. There are many such men here, and I honour them. It must be added that this camp and rally are in themselves a fine effort of organization, and we must be grateful indeed for all the skill and patience that have brought about this most memorable gathering. In the Camp Chief, Mr. Zibbu we have such a scout as other scouts should be. He is the guardian and inspiration of the camp; and its builder is Mr. Ram Swaroop Dhiman, to whom now and always our movement owes so much. I hope, and indeed am certain, that this camp and rally will be outstanding among the happy and profitable memories of many hundreds of our young men and their generous leaders.

.....

recognise that the wise spending of money on improving the health of the people is really an investment of public funds which can, in time, show an incalculable return.

12. The winning of Swaraj is not an ending but a beginning - a beginning of new opportunities on the one hand, a beginning of new responsibilities on the other, but above all, the beginning of a period of very heavy work, the difficulty of which will be only equalled by its interest. The magnitude, the variety, and the complexity, of the interests involved will unquestionably make the work both heavy and difficult.

13. An efficient official is something more than a machine. He should make it the rule of his official life not to wait for work to come to him but to go in search of it, and he will not have to go far. There is always something useful for active brains and willing hands to do. One cannot much admire the public servant who has a mere routine of duties performed day in and day out. He is the same yesterday and to-day. No special fault can be found with his work. He does it just as a machine would do. That ~~is not the~~ type of official than can be of much use to the State.

14. We know that people ask for things which we cannot give with the money or resources at our disposal. But good service includes many things which do not involve money. It does not cost money to be courteous to the public. It does not cost money to give serious and thorough attention to complaints. If one complaint is made, it is a pretty safe assumption that a good many other persons are affected by the thing complained of, and have not said anything. A man who makes a reasonable complaint should be regarded as a friend and the complaint should be carefully examined. If you can correct the trouble, it ought to be corrected. If you cannot, nothing will do more good than a frank and candid explanation giving the reasons why it cannot be helped or was not helped.

1. ~~I think that~~ A great weakness in our Indian educational system is the almost entire absence of the aesthetic element. The beauty that can be seen for example, is as full of joy and inspiration as that which appeals to the ear or directly to the inward sense, and it has the advantage of an all but universal appeal. But do we take any pains to secure that our young people shall have beauty to look upon each day, so that the two elements of visible beauty, richness and order, many enter into their being, with promise of lifelong happiness ?

2. Life in our country has too long stood gazing at the cloud-land of scholastic thought and ethereal fancy, unrelated to the facts of life and the forces in operation around us. It seems to me that it is not enough for the literature of a country to content itself with gratifying the emotions and titillating the argumentative faculty of man. For the beautifying of life, we need stimulus to action no less than aids to contemplation.

3. There is no art more singular than the Indian. It is in a remarkable degree original and self-contained. It is the expression of the specific sensibility of the Indian people. It is also in many ways one of the purest of all forms of art belonging to a complex and highly organised civilisation. Those characteristics are doubtless derived from the Indian attitude to religion. The splendour of the temple and the mosque was a genuine offering to God.

1. It is to citizen service of an utterly disinterested quality that much of the advancement of the most progressive countries is due.

2. There are two things which I should like everyone of us to develop in ourselves. The first is initiative. The second is aesthetic sensibility.

3. It is no special art and it reflects very little credit on a young man simply to fill the position. He is only doing what is expected of him; he is paid to do that. The art lies in doing more than that. The best man is he who does his best.

4. Neighbours should not be strangers, but very positively friends. And when they are facing exactly the same problems, and are dominated by exactly the same purpose - that of securing sufficiency and happiness for the common people - neighbours can and must consult and work together.

5. What we need most of all is a higher socialisation of the race, and a spirit which, instead of cherishing and sanctifying traditional differences, is always seeking points of contact and emphasising the large identical interests rather than the little separate ones. We can never do anything unless we cease to believe that sectarianism is religion, and that caste aggressiveness is reconcilable with national prosperity.

Trust and Women

6. The pattern of a woman's life to-day is more like the pattern of a man's life than it used to be fifty years ago. It includes the home and the human relationships which enter therein; it includes work, often outside the home; it includes a wide range of recreation, in sport and in arts, now recognised as an important human need; and it includes the responsibility of citizenship.

7. My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people are my people, whose very soil is dear. He who has no country is nothing; the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on thin intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people: and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties, and reaches them to us.

8. True patriotism is nothing else than the love of one's country and the desire to make it great - great in the material and in the normal sense. A true patriotism such as this will make no distinction between parties and it will be respected by all parties. Individuals pass like shadows, the State remains fixed and stable. He who works for the State, and whose work contributes to the permanence of the State, is, in the truest sense, a citizen.

formal-th

Democracy.

1. Democracy is a ~~terrible~~ creator of work, and to operate it satisfactorily, an adequate staff is essential.

2. It is not always mere numbers that decide political issues even in the most democratic constitutions; the personal equation counts for a good deal - much more than is generally ~~credited to~~. Mongol

3. India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests; but I believe that ~~it is~~ this very diversity ~~that~~ will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that proposed to be established in our country.

4. It is a most unfortunate fact, as it is a most curious trait in human nature, that it is the man who uses the vilest language and makes the wildest suggestions that more readily gains the ear of a public such as they address, not the man who uses modern language, who speaks with a sense of responsibility and with an eye to reality ? It seems to me that the more this is the case in a country, the less chance there is for true democracy to flourish in it.

1. The high school is, however, not merely a gateway to the university, but also a great clearing-house of the youthful talent of the country.

2. The reorganization of education must be an integral part of planning of the economic life of the country in close relation to the economic life of the world as a whole.

3. The true university fosters ideals, but always in such a way that they may be put in practice in the real world, not in drowsiness or dreaminess or in vague enjoyment of poetic and religious abstractions, but in the resolute purpose to apply spiritual ideals to actual life.

4. Educational institutions should, undoubtedly, be nurseries of patriotism and their aim should be to train young men to be of real service to their country. One of the highest aims of education should be preparation of young men for citizenship.

5. I am strongly of opinion that the relationship between education and employment should not be casual but deliberate and systematic. Much of the good is taken out of education by the prevailing uncertainty of what is to happen to the student when education is finished.

6. One of the chief merits of games is that they teach us to keep our tempers. For if we lose our temper, we are more than likely to lose the game. Whatever develops skill, firmness, unselfishness, patience and self-control, in addition to the improvement of the body, is well worthy of our attention. pursuit.

7. No country can afford to neglect its own language. Only those who keep intact the bond of unity with their own people are capable of exercising any sound influence amongst them. Let our pupils, then, not neglect their vernaculars. It is desirable that they should, as far as possible, learn through the medium of their own vernacular.

8. Our universities are all located in the leading cities of India, but I fear that they live in seclusion and are not influenced by the life that sweeps by them, nor have they established intimate contacts with the people from whom they draw their sustenance and for whom, in the last resort, their work is intended.

9. It has been said that there are two freedoms, the first the false, where one is free to do what one likes, and the second, the true, where one is free to do what one ought. And, similarly, there are two educations, the first, that just trains you to get a living or a passport to a living, and the second, that teaches you how to live a right life. The ideal system of education is one that subserves both ends at once.

10. We know well that India does not lack natural resources. Her fields and mountains, her waters and mines, can give us in abundance all that we want. But have we got the ability to develop these resources — or men and women with the requisite technical skill, who have learnt to dare and to pioneer ? The Universities of India can provide part of the future affirmative answer to this crucial question.

11. We believe easily what we fear or what we desire, said a philosopher. To see things from many points of view, to enter into feelings far different from one's own, to understand and care about the ideas and interests of others, though they conflict with one's own, to be as ready to make concessions as to demand them - these are marks of the good man. There are forms of goodness which we positively demand of the graduate of a university.

12. The progress of an Indian peasant depends, in no small measure, on the intelligence, equipment, and sense of responsibility which are to be found in the village school teacher. He can make or mar the village, and in doing so he can help the cause of Indian progress or hamper it. Teachers constitute the first line of defence. The teachers can help lead the people to judgment and balance, avoiding mob rule and violence so that real democracy may survive in a world gone mad.

(A) duty of the State to afford to all communities the best and fullest opportunities for the development of their God-given gifts; only so, can society as a whole find stability and strength.

5. Nothing is so difficult as ~~the~~ assessing of the values of political and social innovations particularly in a country where the traditional organization of life resembles a thousand-year old structure, with foundations deep beyond fathoming and with walls and ceilings full of hallowed paintings and friezes, and the whole held together by the interplay of forces which it is impossible to estimate. In attempting to adapt such a structure to modern requirements, we cannot afford to forget that the disturbing of a single wornout brick or a single sagging beam may perchance bring down the whole venerable edifice in a mass of debris.

We have to proceed with caution if we ~~wish~~ to minimise social disturbance, and avoid its bitter aftermath of class feud and blind partisanship. The best way of proceeding is the way of mutual persuasion and friendly understanding - not the way of minatory challenges and precipitated conflicts.

Eqns.

1. The strength of a chain is ~~judged by~~ depends on its weakest link, and so long as the depressed classes remain what they are, there can be no general uplift of the country. If it is to progress, ~~you must take them with you.~~ Share in that progress. the much-

2. The ends of justice are too often defeated by means of law. The high aims of justice are often circumvented by the technicalities of legal procedure. There is obviously something radically wrong in a system which permits of ~~such~~ inordinate delays.

3. The up-building of character and intelligence by providing opportunity and instruction; the securing of comfort and prosperity through justice as well as philanthropy; the protection of the individual from disease as well as from attack, are all the tasks ~~which~~ demand collective effort.

4. Inequalities in the constitution of society, ~~there will always be,~~ a permanent for ~~such inequalities~~ are in the nature of things; but it is the thing

(A)

India

3. ~~For~~ Great work has to be done in the next thirty years and the cry is for more men to do it - more educated men, men of culture, ~~men~~ of character and sound commonsense, ~~men~~ who can plan and bring to fruition the great deal of a new, happy and united India - as India where every man is first and foremost an Indian, with common rights and responsibilities, common ideals and aspirations, making common history, without undue emphasis on caste or creed or sex or rank or whatever else it is that separates men and women from sharing a common humanity.

4. We, Indians, are speculative and imaginative people, noble qualities these and essential to the mastery of life; but we are not remarkable for practical commonsense.

5. In the grim light of present realities, how petty our differences appear, how insignificant the racial or religious barriers that separate us. Instead of standing shoulder to shoulder in the service of a common Motherland we are perpetually quarrelling with one another over things that are of no real value either in this world or ~~in~~ the next.

6. The security of the individual, the race, the religion is one of Great Britain's gifts to India, and true patriotism cannot risk its loss.

7. The unifying influence of the British Government and the English language has been such that at least the term "nation" has become applicable, with real significance, to India, and every thought of diversity and rivalry disappears in the new habit of thinking proudly of oneself as an Indian.

8. The sooner this vast country, with its teeming millions and its numerous races and creeds, is consolidated on a truly national basis, with common interests and aspirations, the better will it be for her and for the world in general. For India has a great contribution to make to the peace and happiness of the world, and she can only fulfil her destiny if she herself is united and strong.

9. We are living in a time full of difficulties and perplexities for the human race. Turn to any country in the world, you will find it immersed in doubt and difficulty. It is Indian energies alone that can save India and Indian efforts alone that can prevent her from falling a prey to blind forces. While ever alert to perceive new truth, faithful to the old yet welcoming the new, let us be neither rashly progressive nor obstinately conservative.

10. India is an ancient land, with a very ancient culture, and a profound philosophy, but is an extremely young country from the economic, industrial and scientific points of view; and it is only now that she is opening her eyes, and trying to raise her head and take her rightful place among the nations of the world. Only one thing can debar her from that place, and that is a narrow and selfish outlook on the part of the various sections of her people.

11. Discontent exists throughout the ~~whole length and breadth of~~ the world. It would be a lamentable thing if the people of our country were contented, for a healthy, normal, rational and intelligent discontent ~~is not~~ manifested in a fashion tending towards the general good, if there is no understanding, no coordination. then the discontent finds its expression in ways that will be injurious to progress and civilization.

Should be /

12. This nation, this democracy, is to be our care. We have always cared much about the distinction of the distinguished, the profoundity of the profound, the peculiarity of the peculiar. But now there is one thing which to India is to matter more than these - the ordinariness of the ordinary, the massive, efficacious, sensible dullness of the educated multitude - and through this the same invaluable quality in the uneducated masses of the people.

13. Though we may live in different ~~Provinces or~~ States, ~~and~~ speak different languages ~~and~~ profess different religions and belong to different races, we are all one and inseparable. For the destiny of India is unity. Geography, common dangers. time and inventions work towards its ultimate integration. Indian rivers rise, fall and flow without reference to provincial or State lines. The mountains are no no longer barriers and bastions. And inventions know no boundaries. Every instrument science achieves, from telephone to television, jumps frontiers.

14. India, like the rest of the world, is in a transition stage today. She is emerging from the conservatism of ages and feeling a t all points the influence of radical ideas. This is true in our politics, in our statesmanship, in our social life, in our business life, in our attitude in all things. The charge, even during the last decade or two, has been revolutionary. The spirit of the times is different. We

public servants, even more, perhaps, than the ordinary citizen, must give earnest consideration to this change and adapt ourselves to our new responsibilities.

15. Now, for the first time, if we are rightly guided, the East and the West will meet and unite; the one enriching and fortifying the other and so bringing in a new era of civilization. Within the mind of India, there are certainties strangely contrasted with Western questionings, within her heart (little though the casual observer may think so to-day!) is a peace born of understanding of life for which the West is seeking with ever-growing restlessness. To what heights might not man rise, could but the Western and the Eastern world unite their so profoundly different experience, wisdom and power ?

16. In a country like ours with its diverse castes and creeds, brotherly feeling and the ballot-box seem to go ill together. Undue emphasis is placed on religious and cultural differences, and sentiment is allowed to play too large a part, while commonsense is at a discount. The more we can infuse brotherhood into democracy the happier will be our country.

LIFE

Life, more and more abundant ~~life~~ life, is what is wanted most in any college; energy, enthusiasm, keen desire, eager ambition, and delight i many things. Life means liberty, initiative; everything is impossible if people's efforts are always dashing them against the bars. We should as far as we possibly can, abolish the miserable word "compulsion", and eliminate "Thou shalt not" from our decalogue for teachers and for students. A sense of responsibility is best cultivated by trusting it.

LITERATURE:

1. There is no more valuable acquisition than a taste for reading. There is no human arrangement so powerful for good, there is no benefit that can be bestowed upon a community so great as that which places within the reach of all the treasures of the world ~~which are~~ stowed up in books.

2. Literature should not only stir the heart, but also clarify the understanding and strengthen the will. If literature is to be a dynamic power, it should embrace not only the dreams of the poets and the transcripts of the novelists, but also the more concrete achievements of the scientist and the social reformer. We need knowledge as well as inspiration.

1. In India, where the ideas of civic responsibility are not absorbed from the atmosphere, every school boy must receive a deliberate training in citizenship.

2. Insurance is like the quality of mercy. It blesseth him that gives and him that takes. Insurance cares for you from the cradle to the grave.

3. I think that if each of us were to cultivate a real close friendship with a man of another community, we should soon realize how silly ~~is our mutual warfare~~. on our communal prejudice.

4. The ideal road is one on which the driver meets nothing unexpected. The ~~building~~ soch roads is more a matter of economics than of road engineering. Construction of

5. The more we observe the laws of public health the less disease there will be. Open air, wholesome food, pure drinking water, and hygienic dwellings - these preventives are better than any curatives.

6. It is harder to struggle against wealth than against poverty, and ease is far more deadly frustrater of careers than hardship. No doubt, these are handicaps which all would welcome with open arms. Yet they are a great test of character.

7. An industry cannot long endure if it is founded on sentiment alone. If it is to survive in the keen competition which is a feature of modern commercial life, it should have something more substantial to sustain it than the mere fact that it is a local product.

8. Places of pilgrimage devoted to divine worship should be models of cleanliness, for it is a trite saying that cleanliness is next to godliness. Who would wish to live in the midst of dirt ? Cleanliness and agreeable surroundings are as necessary as peace of mind for meditation.

9. The raiyat does not want money as money. He wants it to buy cattle, ploughs. implements, manure, seed and the like. You have got to give him facilities in these matters by the formation of agricultural supply societies of various kinds.

10. It should be our aim to convert our ugly and unhealthy villages into houses simply built - but with play grounds, schools, attractive and healthy ones, consisting of co-operative societies, places of worship, and other public institutions.

11. Public health is a matter in which no lasting success can be attained without the active co-operation of the people themselves, and

that is why I want you to imbibe the Red Cross spirit, the spirit which, whether it be called after the Cross, Crescent or Krishna, makes us all members one of another in matters of health at every stage of our existence.

12. The 'millions' are still 'voiceless' and ignorant, obsessed in mind with grim daily necessities, but it is false humanity and false history to conceive that in a time of tremendous national aspiration either the town labourer or the rustic can remain insensible.

13. ~~Ours is mainly an agricultural country, and it~~ India will remain an essentially agricultural country for as long as one can foresee. No effort, therefore, would be too great in serving the cause of the agriculturist and in making him a happier and ~~more prosperous man~~ less indigent man.

14. The physical aim of physical culture ought to be simply the body's health and efficiency, and it is high time that the public condemned as monstrosities those whose craze is abnormal development of some kind or other. To be able to lift enormous weights is not really virtuous, even physically. The ability to stop motor cars or endure all sorts of sub-human jumpings and pomellings is not enviable or a good example.

15. How is it possible for any progress, inward or outward, to be achieved if the people get accustomed to living in an unhealthy and insanitary environment, and are habituated to filth and squalor ? Squalor and enlightenment cannot exist together.

16. There can be few more worthy objects of one's charity than the relief of suffering. In India we have not yet realised, as has long been realised in the West, that the provision and even the upkeep of hospitals is largely a public obligation to be borne as much by well-to-do people as by the State.

17. Enthusiasm, not only in the individual but also in collective achievement, is vital to corporate enterprises. This team-spirit is essential if success is to be achieved. Great ideas, however splendidly conceived, are useless if the united executive strength for their interpretation is lacking.

18. It is a great mistake, as it is a great temptation, for a municipality to interest itself in politics, and other matters which do not concern its functions. ~~it.~~ The introduction of politics into the municipal hall can only do harm to the municipality. ~~Do take this from me as the advice of a well-wisher interested in the development of local bodies, and also, if it is ever needed, as a warning.~~

19. The growth of the agricultural and industrial activities of the people is bound to bring in its train not only material additions to individual and national possessions, but also a more wakeful and more vigorous national intelligence a quicker civic and social consciousness, a finer aspiration and a better standard of living, and a more effective preparation for the higher objects of human existence.

20. There should be no village of any importance in the State which does not possess the following things:- a drinking-water well, which does not dry up when water is most needed; a tank in good repair, not silted up, with the sluice neglected; a satisfactory school with at least one competent teacher; a well-managed co-operative society; and a dispensary ~~xxx~~ with a sufficient stock of medicines.

21. The Latin poets loved to sing of the delights of life in the country, and the tradition persisted in Europe till very recent years of the rosy-cheeked peasant, whose healthy occupation and communion with Nature kept him free from the diseases that troubled the town-dweller. The Great War and the enquiries that have followed it have exploded this idea, even in Europe. In the East I doubt if it is ever attained any similar popularity. Certainly not in India where it was said of the Indian raiyat fifty years ago:

> He eats and has indigestion,
> He works and may not stop.
> His life is a long-drawn question,
> Between a crop and a crop.

22. The progress of the Indian peasant depends, in no small measure,

23. Exhibitions are the time-keepers of progress. They record the country's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intelligence of the people and they help the building up of the commercial prosperity of the country. Upon this, indeed, the very life of the country depends.

Exhibitions which depend too much on the entertainment side to make them popular do more harm than good to the cause, for we can never afford to forget that when once amusements are allowed to militate against educative values, exhibitions lose their fundamental purpose. To put a premium upon crowds and collections at the expense of economic ideas and ethical principles is to turn on exhibition into a snare and a delusion.

Press

1. In these days of government by persuasion, the journalist can render infinite help to the Government by putting things in the right way, by explaining both sides of the case, by teaching people what the Government are doing ~~that are~~ for their benefit, at the same time as they criticise the mistakes that the Government ~~do~~ sometimes make.

2. The newspaper has been defined as an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry, to inform and mould public opinion, and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide. The more our newspapers conform to that definition the more influential they will become, the less need there will be for any control of the press, and the happier the country.

3. If a shorthand writer is the handmaid of the Press, he is also, let me say, the mainstay of the public office system of modern times. There is required of him in his craft not only efficiency - celerity, versatality and capability - but also that supreme quality, honesty. Many secrets pass through your hands - if not also through your minds and memories - and it is of vital importance for you to remember that your employer expects you to keep them for him. A shorthand writer is something more than a mere scribe. He is the trusted custodian of official, or it may be, trads secrets, and so he is bound to respect the interests of those for whom he works zealously guarding their secrets. A secret is a heavy thing, says a French proverb. You must never succumb to the temptation of relieving yourself of the burden.

1. It may be a platitude - but it does bear repetition - that we can please God best by serving our fellowmen. Social service is one of the noblest manifestations of religion - it is, in fact, religion in practice.

2. The feeling that we alone are eligible for salvation and are entitled to enter the Kingdom of God, and that those professing other religions are doomed to perdition, temporary or eternal, seems ingrained in human nature. A truly enlightened man is he who entertains no such belief who regards all men as brothers and who believes that we are all children of the same Father, each deserving of ~~his~~ mercy according to his own individual Karma.

3. I believe that in the new India, religion, as commonly conceived and practised, will find its own place and will not intrude unnecessarily into worldly affairs, where economic factors will always be the guiding consideration. In this way religion will be a blessing to India, not a curse - the curse of religious bigotry. Then will arise in India, great in achievement, great in hope, but greatest of all in the inspiring "will for service" - philanthropic and co-operative service at home and disinterested human service abroad.

4. No one who is aware of the "madding crowd's ignoble strife" of the fanaticism in matters of religious which is eating into the vitals of the national life, can fail to see how sorely is the world in need of a spiritual recipe, the essence of which is something more definite than a mere intellectual understanding of rival faiths, and something more positive than a mere tolerance of them. The mind of the world is distraught; fear, suspicion and hatred flourish. ~~It is in such a world that the great lesson of Sri Ramakrishna's life is felt to be of the greatest value.~~

1. Sanskrit is said to be a dead language. It is, no doubt, a dead language, but dead only in a sense. In another and more vital sense, it is a language which is very much alive even to-day. For is it not still sustaining and enriching many a living Indian language from its vast store house of Literature ?

2. One cannot contemplate with equanimity, though happily such an eventuality is improbable, a condition of things when Sanskrit would be as divorced from the everyday life of the masses in this country as Latin and Greek are in Europe. A light would have gone from the life of the people, and the distinctive feature of Hindu civilization and culture which have won for it an honoured place in world thought would soon be effaced from the life of the community to the great disadvantage and loss both of India and of the world.

Key Times

1. We are living in eventful times, which not only have given birth to new problems but are rendering necessary the revision of old solutions.

2. There can be no secure, prosperous India except as a partner in the British Commonwealth; such partnership is essential to world unity and the progress of civilization.

✓ 3. Charles James Fox once said of Edmund Burke, "Burke is often right, but he is right too soon ! " Let us not be in too great a hurry to make drastic changes.

4. Wide knowledge, wise guidance and concerted action are indispensable requisites for success in these days; for we live in a world struck with man-made chaos and disaster, stumbling from doubt to doubt, from fear to fear, its pride humbled by perplexity, its plenty turned to hunger, its inventions a mockery.

5. Even nations are realising more and more that they cannot live by themselves in comfort or happiness. They must come together and work for their common benefit, for all humanity is really one. What holds good in the case of nations is even more true in the case of people inhabiting the same country, who, although distinct in matters of religion and language, have national and economic interests in common.

6. We live in a world which is being taught or forced to deny the brotherhood of man. Rigid doctrines enforced by iron-handed men have taken hold of large part of mankind and are contending for mastery over the rest. Treaties are violated with impunity; warfare goes on. ~~The bold plan for international cooperation has failed~~. The world will be destroyed either by the war that is apprehended or by the burden or preparation for the war that does not come!

7. Of violent revolution the world has had more than enough. Of wars between peoples, infinitely more than enough. Is it not possible that what long ages of fruitless conflict have failed to teach us - the sheer necessity of goodwill and compromise - may be learnt at last, and barely in time, now that the disrupted atom threatens to take charge of us and our affairs ? Many centuries ago, old Thales held that every thing carried to its extreme becomes its opposite. May we not hope that this extreme of destructive discovery may bring the horrified peoples of the world together in a new creative brotherhood ?

Unemployment

1. Unemployment, from whatever cause arising, is the ~~acute~~ outcome of the cumulative misfits and maladjustments in the economic life of the people. ~~Unemployment~~ not only creates an atmosphere favourable to disorder and discontent but imparts to differences from whatever cause arising something of the rancour incidental to a struggle for existence.

2. An educational system with a definite practical aim, an agricultural organization which provides the maximum of food, raw material and profitable occupation, and an industrial development which fully utilizes the resources of the country - these alone can furnish a satisfactory solution to the pressing problem of unemployment.

bitter and disappointed

3. The most disturbing phenomenon in the country to-day is undoubtedly the attitude of mind of the young men. ~~Youth is bitter and disappointed. That attitude~~ is produced largely by economic despair. This is perhaps the most perplexing problem facing the country at present, and ~~something~~ must be done and that quickly.

remedy from

If there is one thing that is clearer to me than any other in the technique of public life, it is that the speed of human progress increases according to the ratio in which positive creative thought and action exceed negative destructive criticism.

1. I am one of those who feel that the great sacred work of serving the country and its people cannot be achieved by a single individual, however favourably placed, without the hearty co-operation of the people.

2. Unity - how blessed is that word and that idea. so inspiring, so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one.. This is the land of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

3. The greatest need of the hour is a spirit of unity and tolerance for the views and acts of others. Every group of community must be prepared to make some sacrifice - sacrifice of self-interest and self-esteem - in the furtherance of our common aims and ambitions. The law of sacrifice is the ethical principle that dominates all life, the only light that guides human conscience. It is an essential element in the realisation of our national destiny.

4. There was a time when ~~a good~~ many people believed that the supreme law in life was that of the struggle for survival which allowed only the fittest to survive. Whatever may be the ~~position~~ plea of this doctrine in biology, there is no doubt that in human society, belief in mutual aid has replaced the hasty acceptation of the doctrine of the struggle for survival. No community can expect either to prosper or ~~even to~~ survive, unless its members are actuated by a spirit of mutual service.

5. There is a world-wide pressure against the narrowness of personal and group egotisms, the individual ambitions and racial superiorities, that are the central influences of the present sub-human condition of humanity. This pressure I regard as the star of hope in the black sky of contemporary human history, the one consolation in an otherwise dismal world. The race is being compelled by external circumstances to give attention to the platitude of human unity that it has failed to recognise from within.

6. Not independence but inter-independence is the law of our life. It is in ministering to one another, in bearing one another's burdens, in sharing one another's joy, that we realize our humanity and truly live. Such is the personal life and such is the way of national and international health, safety, and prosperity. Go out into the world resolved to serve your country in a spirit of true loyalty and devotion, forgetting the petty differences that divide men, regarding all the people living in this land as your own brothers.

Now the centre of life is, has been, and ever will be the home. At the centre of the home is woman. Man by reason of the many necessities and complications of his life, often is impelled towards the outer circumference. But he also feels and responds to the inward pull of home. Woman, however, is at the centre all the time. Her pre-occupations are more with living beings and their essential needs than with the manipulation of useful and important but inanimate properties and interests. Woman is more concerned with life than with the stock-markets and red-tape!

2. The pattern of a woman's life today is more like the pattern of a man's life man-d and 40 fifty years ago. It includes the home and the human fellowship which enters there; it includes work, often outside the home; it includes a wide range of recreation in sport and the arts, now recognised as an important human need; and it includes the responsibility of citizenship

Aphorisms.

1. Political advancement is, at bottom, a question of public education.

2. Criticism, like confession, is good for the soul.

3. A vast gulf divides appreciation of realities from mere emotionalism.

5. Associated effort is the order o° the day.

6. We need knowledge as well as inspiration.

7. Experience shows that success is due less to ability than to zeal.

8. The finest enthusiasm is enthusiasm for service.

9. There is nothing so good that it cannot be made better.

10. Charity may begin at home but it need not end there.

11. The world to-day is above all else a practical world and it demands results.

12. True philanthropy recognises no boundaries of caste or creed or even relationship.

13. Mere good intentions have no market value; it is actions that command prizes. What the world wants is men who can and will do things.

14. There is no hope, no future, for the community that cannot see beyond its own good.

15. Just as play and exercise are needed for the full development of the body, philosophy, literature and art are essential for the sustenance and full development of mind and spirit.

16. Honesty and zeal are bound to have their reward; and even putting them on the low ground of policy, they pay best in the long run.

17. We learn wisdom from failure much more than from success; we often discover what will do by finding out what will not do; and, probably, he who never made a mistake never made a discovery.

18. Patience is the touchstone of all the virtues. A man who has no patience is inevitably a man full of regrets.

19. Cultivate the habit of thinking. It is remarkable how few people think.

20. In retrospect, life swarms with lost opportunities and disastrous mistakes.

21. We all know, of course, that what is desirable, is not always possible, and what is possible is not always desirable, butw hat is both desirable and possible should not be left unattempted or undone.

22. Providence is a strict accountant, neither forgetting nor forgiving. Regardless of our motives, our actions, good or bad, will have their inevitable consequences.

23. The world is in a very exacting mood to-day; it will probably be in a worse mood tomorrow. We have all to justify our existence.

W e live in a world struck with man-made chaos and disaster, stumbling from doubt to doubt, from fear to fear, its pride humbled by perplexity, its plenty turned to hunger, its inventions a mockery.

24. There is a vast difference between favours and rewards. Do not seek the former, but strive for the latter. Reward for honest endeavour is more valuable, because it is more soul-satisfying, than favour received without effort, or as a result of clamour.

Chapter VI

Towards a Parting of the Ways

I had pleasant associations with successive Secretaries of State for India, and in particular much friendliness was shown me by Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood), who was in charge of the India Office in the later stages of the Round Table Conference. He worked hard for the Federal plan which was finally authorised by the great India Act, 1935 but, owing to delays & the coming of the second world war was never implemented. I share the regrets he expressed on this ground & the belief that it would soon have led to Dominion status made in a speech to the East India Association in July, 1952. I cannot too strongly endorse the view he then expressed that the transition of August, 1947, was unduly rushed, & that it would have been wiser to keep to the date originally fixed, June, 1948. In his words

"The result was that there was no time for ensuring an orderly transfer, & something near to chaos ensued in many parts of India . It was a sad ending to a noble chapter, & a sad beginning to a new era, to rush the transfer to such an extent that the good work of generations was endangered many of our friends left without guidance & support, & thousands of harmless men and women massacred in cold blood." [illegible]

foundation of a lasting peace and a sound economy ? Let each Government remain separate and independent, by all means; no one expects them now to merge into one another, but let them at least not widen unnecessarily the gulf that now divides them, but on the contrary, each should, consistently and constantly, do all it can to come closer and closer together.

It is difficult to understand why Pakistan does not pursue a more liberal policy towards its comparatively small minority community and treat it with greater kindness and generosity, for, quite apart from its own intrinsic value, it is obvious that such a policy would lead to a better understanding with India and have a direct bearing upon that Government's attitude towards its own minority community. ~~It is remarkable how shortsighted governments can be.~~

The only rivalry that one would like these countries to display is in the good treatment of the minorities entrusted to their care. That will be both a wise and an enlightened policy. If only a beginning can be made, in rational adjustment of claims, the habit will grow, and gradually the two nations will develop the cooperation without which neither can stand secure. I long to believe that the future, the near future, will be dominated by a spirit of reconciliation, and that gradually these States may be linked together, more and more closely, in all that pertains to their prosperity in finance, in defence, in foreign affairs and in industry and commerce, with that easy exchange of produce which is absolutely essential to both. And who knows whether, at last, they may become one State again, all but name !

That is looking far ahead, much farther than we can see at present but the great destiny of this land cannot be fulfilled otherwise.

****

Conservatives, yes, and reluctant to interfere with the rights and privileges of the rulers. They tried to observe strictly the outmoded treaties and covenants entered into with the rulers. If they erred at all, they erred in observing them too strictly. ~~The British Government~~ Note to the Secretary of State during the R.I.C. days. Under the B. & M. this talkies of the Indian States, they taught ~~of~~ only of the rulers ~~of the States~~, not of the people ~~who~~ were ~~going to be~~ already the more ~~important factor~~. Now they the latter ~~would~~ not ~~be~~ regard important factors in the coming days. Their interests could not be ignored.

The Ruling Princes did enjoy a privileged position under the British and received, on the whole, just treatment at their hands. A few States ceased to exist on the application of the doctrine of "Lapse" by Lord Dalhousie. But after him, the British Government's policy remained consistently friendly to them. But where they went wrong was in upholding, even, if I may say so, in encouraging personal and autocratic rule. The Political Department discouraged any attempt made to associate the people of the State in the administration and to make it responsive, if not, responsible, to their wishes. This was my experience in Mysore, and even more so in Jaipur, where I came into direct conflict with the Political Department on this issue, and but for the strong support I got from the Maharaja, I should have had to come away from Jaipur. If only the Political Department had encouraged the development of constitutional government in the States and the curtailment of the rulers' autocratic powers, the Princes might probably have not suffered as they have done, once British protection was withdrawn and they were faced with an avalanche of popular agitation. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the Indian States have ceased to exist as such, and those who were Ruling Princes once are now no more than so many "Princes of Arcot", mere political pensioners. They are no longer a force in the affairs of their country.

Subsequent events have shown that the rule of the princes, even though in many cases it was of an autocratic nature, was more popular than that of the "popular" ministries that have supplanted them. If people's contentment and happiness were the determining factors in the form of Government, the people of Jodhpur should have had their former ruler restored to them after the recent general elections when they declared themselves so emphatically in favour of the Prince as against the popular Chief Minister who had stood against him. Such, no doubt, would have been the results in most other States, too.

As constitutional heads of their States, the Princes could have played a most useful part in the development of the country on peaceful and progressive lines, and would have proved useful allies of the Central

on this as the 19th March 1941, to Gandhiji
under also
said among other things —
I am thinking how few among public men
of my province. This is a high Ad-hoc claim
you can establish beyond question
retirement you will have done
service. May you have many years
before you and may you be an
instrument for doing some real truth
by working your sacred ~~wanted~~ but it is always by my side
and holds my noble as ever —

Government, particularly in these days of hazardous world conditions when Communism is spreading its tentacles on all sides. Not a few of the Princes, such as the former Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda and Bikanir, the late Nawab of Bhopal, the Maharajas of Travancore and Jaipur and Bhavnagar - to name only the most notable among them - had been outstanding examples of the value of that personal and paternal rule which, is, by tradition and habit, so well suited to the mind of the Indian peasantry and the public. The present policy of the Government has resulted in antagonising or eliminating a stable element and a stabilising influence in the country. If tiny Coorg could be a self-governing State in the India of to-day, with all the paraphernalia of modern democracy - a Ministry and Legislature of its own - why not what was once the second most important State in India ; Baroda ? Or Bhopal, Indore, Jaipur or Kolhapur and so many other States for that matter ? Orlh an. As mer an the other state Mal has been recently created - both about small the Cabinet State given Mal Rama rule. Mahatma Gandhi once said to me that the Princes of India were under the impression that he was not well-disposed towards them, but they would realize, when he was no more, that he was a true friend and meant well by them. All that he asked of them was that they should become constitutional heads of their States and let their people govern themselves under their aegis.

This is the story one hears from all the former princely States. Inexperienced men and incompetent, unaccustomed to authority and subject to personal and party pressure, are now ruling the States. Their appointments, in many cases, are the reward of political and party service, and were given to those who could cause most trouble if unrewarded: sometimes a delicate calculation, the result of which roused bitter hostility in their unsuccessful rivals, and produced splits that paralysed policy. As always, the people and the country are the victims of personal ambition. In the resulting failure of government, strangers are sometimes brought in from the centre - upright and experienced men, perhaps, but unaware of local circumstances, unfit therefore to deal with the various classes of local people. Unaware, too, of the development of government in the area before these convulsions, and contemptuous of local administrative ability, judging it by those whom they find installed in power.

These processes are by no means appreciated by the public, whose interests suffer, and who are accustomed to a tradition native to the soil which had already been developing towards a genuinely Indian sort of democracy.

There is no doubt that the people miss their old rulers, and all the pomp and circumstance associated with them. Even that, it seems, has its real and abiding value in this curious world. Volumes might be written on the advantages of benevolent personal rule, but I will only remark that authority always does well to clothe itself in dignity, even in splendour; and that loyalty, one of the noblest and most healthful of human instincts, is not so common nowadays that any worthy source of it should wantonly be destroyed. You cannot, without impoverishing and weakening the Indian mind, take away its instinct of loyalty to a person or institution, and far better a near and visible person, intimately concerned with local affairs, than a distant one, unknown and idealised.

It is not, then, a matter for surprise that "popular" ministries in the old States should be so unsuccessful. It is not entirely their fault. The circumstances in which they have to carry on the administration are such as to make any ministry, constituted as these are, both inefficient and unpopular.

Let me give an example from my own experience. I found that the administration of Jaipur gave me more trouble than that of Mysore though the latter is a much bigger State, for the administration of Mysore was manned by trained and experienced men, appointed simply for their ability and fitness. How is it possible, I ask, for a ministry composed entirely of inexperienced men, and in the circumstances of to-day, to administer with any degree of success, not only Jaipur but at least half-a-dozen more States, even more backward than Jaipur, comprising the whole of Rajputana, with an area of

116,000 square miles ? It has a multitude of problems, I do not say to solve, because that would be a miracle, but to struggle with. The States Ministry will do well to devote some attention to this problem. It was not well-advised in uprooting the ~~well~~established old regimes, and making radical changes in such a hurry. Precipitate action seldom pays in the long run.

In saying all this, I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am speaking as one who has ~~no further interest in appointments~~ and no personal predilection for any particular form of government. My opinion has been formed purely on a detached and disinterested basis, not on considerations of political theory but on observation of actual results. ~~So far as I am personally concerned,~~ my career is all behind me, ~~none lies in front of me,~~ and I have, fortunately, no public future to carve out for myself.

Thoughts on Partition: Before + After

CHAPTER VI.

SARDAR BALLABHBHAI PATEL - DR. S. SINHA - KHAN ABDUL GHAFFOOR KHAN, KASHMIR - BARODA - CEYLON - POONA CONFERENCE - FOUNTAIN IN GUBBON PARK.

Soon after my retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore in June 1941, ~~His Highness~~ the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sent a telegram followed by a special messenger by plane with a letter offering me the Prime Ministership of his State and promising to give me a free hand in the administration.

About the same time, a pressing invitation came from Jaipur. I was well acquainted with the Maharaja of Jaipur while I was an utter stranger to the Ruler ~~Maharaja~~ of Kashmir; moreover I was not keen on going so far away from Bangalore. ~~Moreover, I did not~~ I hardly relish the idea of displacing a friend. I decided to go to Jaipur after consulting my good friend, Sir Kenneth Fitze, who was Political Secretary at the time, and the Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. Sir Tej Bahadur wrote, as usual, a very kind letter:

Only day before yesterday, I heard on the radio and again yesterday I read in the papers that you are about to lay down the reigns of your high office at Mysore. Every one who has followed the history of Mysore in recent years will regret it, because it is a matter of common knowledge that you have placed your high talents, great administrative capacity and high character unreservedly at the disposal of Mysore which is now looked upon as a model State. It must be a source of supreme satisfaction to you that you have done your duty and that you are retiring in the midst of so much general regret.

I have no doubt whatever in mind that any big State in India will consider it a piece of good luck if it can secure your services. It so happens that day before yesterday His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Kashmir sent to me Mr. Ava'ar Krishna Wattal as his special messenger by aeroplane for some urgent work. In the course of conversation, Mr. Wattal told me about a telegram which His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Kashmir has sent to you a few days ago.

I am drafting a certain document on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in the course of which your name occurs. It is indicative of the amount of trust and confidence which His Highness the Maharaja has in you. I cannot write more explicitly about this matter without His Highness' permission, but I have no doubt that His Highness, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter, will either write to you or communicate his wishes to you. As a personal friend and admirer of yours and as one, who is deeply interested in Kashmir, I only hope that you will not say 'no' to His Highness' request.

I was again asked, after my retirement from Hyderabad State in 1947, if I would go to Kashmir as Prime Minister. On learning that I was unwilling, the gentlemen who were anxious that I should take up the post, ~~also~~ approached a distinguished friend of mine in New Delhi and requested him to persuade me to accept their invitation. My friend told them that even if I was willing, he would advise me to drop the idea. The situation in Kashmir was deteriorating very fast and he did not want me to get myself embroiled there.

I received another offer and this time it came from Baroda. The Prime Ministership of Baroda, had fallen vacant by the departure of Sir Brojendr--lal Mitter. I informed Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who had communicated the offer to me, that I could not accept it. I think now - in view of the calamity that overtook both the Ruler and his State, ending in ~~the total extinction of both~~ - that I made a mistake in ~~not going there~~, as I feel I might refusing

have been able to do something to avert the catastrophe. I had known His Highness from his boyhood and it was my serious duty to have responded to his call. He would have given me a free hand in the administration, but, somehow, I was not in a mood to start on a new career again -

Of all the sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these - It might have been.

In September 1941, I went to Ceylon as a member of the Indian Delegation which the Government of India sent to negotiate with the Ceylon Government regarding the position of the Indian settlers and immigrants in the Island. Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, an officer of high ability and varied experience (he was then a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council) led the Indian Delegation.

We had long and sometimes heated discussions with our Ceylonese counterparts. The leader on the Ceylonese side was the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, who later became the first Prime Minister of independent Ceylon and earned a high reputetion as a statesman and administrator.

We succeeded in the end in reaching an agreement. We had made it a point to discuss every important issue with a representative group of Indians who were permanent residents of Ceylon, and we had taken care to discuss the draft agreement also with them and obtain their approval to it the previous night before signing it. Unfortunately, however, the moment it became known that an agreement had been reached, a vigorous campaign was launched against it both in India and in Ceylon. The Government of India yielded, unwisely as I thought, to pressure and did not ratify the agreement. Matters have not improved since but on the contrary, as Mr. Senanayake said to me not long before his death, had deteriorated from the Indian point of view.

Our talks were on the breaking-point more than once. I said to Mr. Senanayake that while the Government of India had appointed me as one of their representatives, I had appointed myself as Ceylon's representative, too. I assured him that I would not fail to look at the problem from the standpoint of Ceylon also, and would not hesitate to espouse her cause, if that cause appeared to me to be just and reasonable, for no settlement could be a lasting one unless it was a just one.

It is most kind of you, he wrote to me on October 8, 1941, to have found time to write so soon after your return. I am afraid I did very little in the way of entertaining you. I know you will understand that any shortcomings on my part were due solely to the very anxious and exacting time I was having in connection with the Conference.

The success of the Conference owes a great deal to you, Sir Mirza, to the prudence and understanding of a great administrator. Personally,

I shall always be grateful for your presence on the Delegation. I always felt that I had in you a friend who understood the difficulties of my own position."

My friendship with Mr. and Mrs. Senanayake dated from the time they visited Mysore and spent some days here as State guests, visiting various places of interest in the State. That was a couple of years before we met in conference in Colombo. His visit to Mysore was, as he often remarked to me and others, a revelation to him, and he went away determined to follow in our footsteps and develop Ceylon as we were trying to develop the Mysore State. He asked me only a couple of months before his tragic death end to spend at least a week with him and see how far he had succeeded in his endeavours to copy Mysore.

He met with his death in March 1952 when he was out riding. The horse was apparently too fresh and bolted. After sticking to the horse for more than a mile, he had fallen off, somersaulted, landed on his head and never regained consciousness. Ceylon thus lost her greatest son. Glowing tributes were paid to him by the highest in the Commonwealth.

I spent a couple of nights as his guest in Colombo on my way back from Jakarta in November 1951. There were only three of us at the dinner the night previous to my departure. I said to him that since my plane was leaving rather early in the morning, he must not think of coming to the airport to see me off. But, no, early in the morning I found him sitting outside my bedroom, waiting to take me to the airport and he remained there till the plane actually took off. I came away promising to pay him a longer visit as soon as I could.

~~Man plans, and Destiny smiles.~~

Although in 1915 ~~he~~ Mr Senanayake had been jailed for 40 days by the British, he had become by 1948 their staunch friend and an implacable foe of the ~~Kremlin~~ ~~wealth~~ Communists. He had led Ceylon's 7,000,000 people to independence, so willingly offered to them by Britain, ~~and he became~~ As the new dominion's first Prime Minister, ~~he~~ he kept Ceylon closely attached to Britain, and Britain, on her part, was not slow to recognise his worth and show her appreciation of his attitude in every way she could. ~~In my talks with him, I often complimented him upon the wisdom of the policy he was following.~~ Hold one threshold and hold it firm - says a Persian aphorism and that is what he was doing. Ceylon is a fascinating island and deserves to prosper, as she no doubt will.

Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel and I

Although we had known each other for over a quarter of a century and were on very friendly terms throughout, ~~Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel and~~ I, ~~somehow~~, drifted apart after he became a Minister at the Centre. His attitude completely changed towards me. Our relations became strained. He could be a good friend but a bad enemy. After the fall of Hyderabad, the Nizam was most anxious to see me, but I was not allowed to go anywhere near him. It was difficult to understand this after all that I had done to effect an amicable settlement between Delhi and Hyderabad. ~~I could not see the Nizam until last year.~~

In March 1949, ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam was most anxious that I should be one of the Trustees of the Prince Moazzam Jah Fund. He was forming a Trust Board for the administration of the fund which he had set apart for the Prince. In case I survived him, I was to take his place. This was a remarkable evidence of his confidence in me, in spite of all that had happened. In his official letter to me, he said that he had consulted the States Ministry and that they had no objection to his proposal.

I wrote to ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam accepting his invitation, but telling him, at the same time, that I had better write and ascertain from Sirdar Patel if he had any objection. I had a feeling that he might not like my going to Hyderabad and it turned out to be so. I telegraphed to him -

Nizam wants me to be a member of his second son's trust board and tells me you have no objection also he wants me to see him in this connection Kindly let me know if I have your permission to comply with both his requests.

His reply was: Military Governor intimates that matter is still at a discussion stage and that he will ask for instructions of States Ministry on the question of trustees and other relevant matters. He did not think at present your visit would serve any useful purpose. On other hand it might give rise to undesirable speculations. In these circumstances I would advise your dropping the idea of visiting Hyderabad. I would add that Nizam has not raised this subject with me at all.

I do not know even to this day how far Sirdar Patel was right in saying that the Nizam had not consulted him in this matter. for both the Nizam and others wrote to me ~~definitely~~ stating that he had obtained the States' Ministry's permission. Perhaps, it was the Secretary of the Ministry and the Governor who had agreed, not the Minister himself.

In an article I contributed to The Times in May 1949, I had criticised Mr. Patel for his policy towards the States, which I characterised as a ruthless one. He seemed to have resented it very much. Democratic autocrats are hard to please. ~~Furthermore, the views I had expressed in a private letter to a friend, of which he came to know, had also an adverse effect on his attitude towards me.~~ I do not suppose the Government of India, either, relished my remarks. I do not remember what I said in these letters, but I must have given expression to my views in a manner too frank to please them. I have in my life practised very few economies of truth in the expression of my opinion, and this habit has got me into trouble sometimes, both with the British Government of India and with the present Indian Government, as in the instances I have just mentioned. ~~However, it did not really matter. I was well pleased with myself and had no qualms of conscience.~~

Referring to the article in The Times, Dr. Sachidanand Sinha, a veteran statesman and lawyer, wrote (August 19, 1949):

I was highly gratified to see that your contributions to the "Times" and the "Spectator" were very widely publicised in India, and even journals who would not ordinarily support your view, went out of their way to print and publish your articles. Also, I was glad to find fairly long extracts from your contribution to the "Times" reproduced in the weekly edition of that paper, which has a fairly extensive circulation

in India, and possibly also in Pakistan. Your sound and mature views, discussing the Indian situation dispassionately, have thus produced a very great effect on public opinion in this country. It was naturally very pleasing to my sense of vanity to find you saying in your letter that in what you said in those two articles you took the cue from my own views and sentiments. The fact of the matter is that both you and I having had occasion to work the administration, not only from outside but also from inside, have naturally a much greater advantage than our political leaders of today, who did not work the administration at all till now, either from inside or from outside, or both, but preferred to do so in jail.

Dr. Sinha spoke of other matters in his letter and I am quoting the relevant extracts as they are not without interest even to-day:

The ceremony of presiding over as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of India fell to my lot in December, 1946, merely as a matter of chance, as I happened to be the seniormost member of the Assembly. I had barely a week to get up an inaugural address, but it hit the mark, not only because I received your approbation and that of a large number of my countrymen qualified by their knowledge and experience to judge of such things, but because the representatives of Canada, Australia, the United States, and other countries, sent me letters which they had received from their Governments on the subject, approving of the line suggested by me in my address. Since then I have not been attending the meetings of the Constituent Assembly. I was there for a month last year, but found the atmosphere uncongenial and even uninteresting, if not marred to some extent by passion and prejudice.

It is two years now since India was divided, and each day we live we discover that there never was perpetrated a greater mistake in the sphere of politics than the assent, willing or unwilling, of the Congress leaders to the partition of the country. It was agreeing to accepting a situation which was bound to develop into a perpetual festering sore, and so it has turned out to be. When a man of the position of the Prime Minister of Pakistan talks in the way as Liaqat Ali did on the Id festival day this year, to which you yourself felt compelled to give a rejoinder, you can easily understand what it is elsewhere. I receive some leading papers of Pakistan from Lahore and Karachi, including the "Sind Observer", and the amount of venom which they spit and spout is much too terrible to contemplate with equanimity; nor will it ever end, in my opinion, until the country is reunited into one again, be it through whatever means, fair or foul. I very much wish it were true that Subhas Bose is still alive and is coming over. If he is not dead, perhaps he is the man who can, as a disbeliever in non-violence, and a believer in active violence, can restore the unity of the disrupted India.

During my last visit to New Delhi in 1947 as Prime Minister of Hyderabad - I had just then resigned - Rajkumari Amrit Kaur telephoned to me and asked if I was not going to see the Mahatma. ~~I said, of course, I should be delighted~~ to. ~~When I went to see him~~ He asked me if I had met Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. I said, no. ~~He was there and would I like to see him, he asked~~ ? The Khan Sahib soon joined us. He asked me what I thought of their demand for an independent North-West Frontier Province. I was not prepared for such a question and said to him, half-jokingly, "Since you do not wish to join Pakistan and since you cannot join India, you may as well be independent". Gandhiji laughed and remarked - how is this possible ? I said, if Bengal can ask for independence, why not the North-West Frontier Province ? I, of course, was no more in favour of an independent Bengal than an inde-

pendent ~~Pathan~~ Frontier Province. These are not days for such small independent States. They only create more difficulties. The larger the group the stronger it is. Europe is paying dearly for that mistake. If the Austro-Hungarian kingdom had not been split up into several smaller States, the position in south-east Europe would not have been so complicated as it is to-day and Russia would not have been able to absorb so many of them and made itself so powerful in that region. In trying to remove a possible formidable rival, the allies played into the hands of the Kremlins and created a greater danger for themselves.

I was invited to a Non-Party Conference under the Presidentship of ~~the Right Honourable~~ Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was held in Poona towards the end of July 1941.

~~I was invited to~~ it. Mr. ~~M~~ Jinnah wrote ~~to me~~ asking me not to attend as it would be a disservice to the Muslim cause. I ~~did not agree with him.~~ ~~I told him~~ replied that much depended upon what I said at the Conference, and if what I said was calculated to be helpful to the Muslim cause, where was the harm in attending it ?

I quote a few sentences from the speech I made on the occasion:

"I believe I am right in saying that the main object of this Conference, of this great gathering which includes so many of the most patriotic and eminent men of India, is to offer to the British Government such suggestions as may strengthen the bonds that unite our two countries. I am one of those who feel that India needs Britain even more than Britain needs India. We should do all in our power to help her and her cause in every way in the war. It is obvious that unless all misunderstanding between the two countries is cleared away, unless India is made to feel that Britain is doing all she can to give effect to her promises to place her in a position of equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations at the earliest possible moment, both countries stand to lose. A strong and loyal India is the strongest bulwark that England can possess; even stronger, I venture to say, than any of the Dominions whose population and resources are not to be compared with those of this country

The Hindu-Muslim question is our fundamental problem ..... Even if the British Government were to accede to our request to make a declaration that Dominion Status would be granted to India within a specified time limit, such a declaration, however solemnly made, however well-intentioned, would be of no avail to us, so long as conditions remain as they are to-day. Once our internal differences are composed, Dominion Status will follow as a matter of course ..... A Committee should be set up at once to consider all these questions and submit its recommendations for the consideration of the Government after the termination of the war ....."

The unity of India has to be preserved at all costs ..... I am wholly in favour of a strong Central Government. But a vast and heterogeneous country like ours, differing from Province to Province, from State to State, cannot be administered efficiently, and satisfactorily from a remote and isolated Centre. A supreme Government dealing exclusively with defence, finance, customs and similar questions of all-India character is at any time an obvious necessity for India, and more especially so in these tragic and critical days. At the same time, the Provinces should enjoy as full a measure of autonomy as is possible in the field of local administration. In short, in our political structure, we have to evolve a formula which should seek to combine the advantages of home rule in local matters with national unity under the federal principle.

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Mr. Jinnah did not forgive me for having taken part in the Conference ~~in spite of~~ contrary to his advice. He was anxious that I should ~~join hands with him~~ and help him to build up a strong and prosperous Pakistan and, perhaps, even to succeed him, as indeed he appears to have written to the Nizam, according to Nawab Hosh Yar Jung of ~~Hyderabad who gave me this information~~.

FOREWORD.

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Many friends ~~- European as well as Indian -~~ have suggested ~~to me that~~ I should write my memoirs "~~if you have no other occupation;~~ they would interest many", ~~as~~ one of them put it. Since I am not ~~engaged in anything special at present~~, and have sufficient leisure, I ~~felt that I might as well embark upon the venture~~ and write something of my life and experiences in ~~a public career~~ extending over four decades. It is not easy, however, to write about oneself and partly for this reason and partly in order to make the memoirs more interesting ~~than they might otherwise be~~, I have made ~~many~~ quotations (I hope not too many) and ~~I have~~ said much about others with whom either my family or I ~~have~~ come in direct contact.

This purports to be a frank book. I have tried to avoid hurting feelings or treading upon ~~anybody's~~ toes. Quite a number of distinguished persons figure in it and I hope I have been neither idolatrous nor iconoclastic in my references to them, ~~but have maintained an equipoise~~ of judgment, praising where praise was due and criticising where criticism was called for.

I am indebted to Mr. E.G. Barter, I.C.S. (Retired) for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of the book and I am under ~~many~~ obligations to my old and esteemed friend, Sir Frank Brown, C.I.E. His help and guidance were of special value to me not only in editing and revising the book but also in ~~getting it published~~ in England. I have to thank Dr. James H. Cousins, who has been such a good friend to me for many years for giving me the benefit of his advice on several points.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND ASIA.

The United Nations Organization has been created with the object of establishing peace and security in the world. Will it justify the high expectations formed of it at its inception ? Will it justify the enormous sums of money that are being spent on it ? The world will have to wait for an adequate answer. To me the outlook does not appear too bright. My impression is that possibly the fault lies mainly with the major Powers that at present dominate the organization [redacted] the smaller powers [redacted] too little influence [redacted]. This fact militates against trust and confidence in their leadership. This is going to be the acid test of the United Nations and will eventually spell the difference between its success and failure.

The United Nations and its Specialised Agencies have not, unfortunately, been exempt from the great bureaucratic temptation to employ far too many people, to choose them on grounds other than specific fitness, to pay them too much and to give them too much authority, often over others more competent than themselves. If this temptation prevails, the result [redacted] disastrous.

So far as the countries of Asia and Africa are concerned, the United Nations would do well to recognise the fact that there is new life and power in the Eastern countries. [redacted] sorely need foreign help [redacted] suspicious of it. They are all looking forward with hope and determination to such prosperity and such influence in the world as have never yet been known in Asia and Africa. But their golden opportunity has its great dangers. More than ever before do they need wise and unselfish leadership, and the careful education of public opinion.

Every one of these countries which have now attained a complete independence in administration and policy is very gravely handicapped both by under-development and by faulty administration. Even where there are some leaders of proved ability and integrity, leadership is, in general, lacking. Corruption has not been stamped out but increases. Even noble figures are sometimes perverted by a futile, shortsighted nationalism. Too often leaders are dependent for power on the unenlightened mob, which is constantly misled by open or secret mischief-makers. It is a pitiful spectacle when an honest and intelligent leader allows himself to be a slave to popular clamour, though he knows perfectly well [redacted] the end will be disaster for his country.

The mischief-maker works upon the people in two ways. Playing upon their poverty, he makes wild, impossible economic promises. Playing upon their patriotism, he fosters hatred of the stranger, even the friendliest, most helpful stranger, and perverts the people's deep love for their country into a narrow, ignorant, disastrous nationalism. And indeed many a leader himself fails to understand that our whole future depends on our ability to transcend this. Countries that hope to become prosperous and powerful by mere self-development and by a selfish concern with what appears to be their own immediate interest - such countries have no future. At one stride the world has passed beyond all that. A splendid future is open to us, but we shall never

reach it unless we are ready to plan and work in full and reasoned cooperation with the other countries of the world. For even Asian unity is not enough. We can afford no antagonisms to other free peoples, who are ready to give us so much and to receive so much from us. We must become states of the world-commonwealth. This is where the United Nations can play so vital a part.

And, as we all know, it is only the organization of the United Nations that can, if properly led, help us to our goal. The Eastern countries must feel that material help is ready to hand, as well as the garnered experience and wisdom of the world. One could never over-estimate the need for the United Nations, and all the mutual understanding and help that it can offer to its members. And the Eastern nations are no passive beneficiaries. Their voice, too, should mean much in its counsels and policy, in the clarification of its aims and in the sharing of its ideals. And so, in giving the fullest cooperation to the United Nations, the Eastern countries should feel that they are serving themselves and at the same time, are serving the whole world. This can happen only if this great organization proves worthy of the world's confidence.

If the Asian countries are to be real world-states, and if they themselves are to attain prosperity and happiness, they must all begin to concentrate upon their domestic policies as well as on international affairs. All of us are suffering from sickness of the body politic. That sickness is largely due to the personal corruption of men in power. Here no half-measures can be tolerated. We must have integrity in all leaders and throughout the services. Without either remorse or fear, we must get rid of every corrupted person. We must not allow our countries to become a paradise for politicians and carcerists. And there is another, similar, necessity which is equally urgent. When prosperity begins to come to a comparatively undeveloped country, it often does not percolate to the common people. The growing wealth is absorbed by the traditionally rich and powerful, or else a new rich class is created, less worthy than the old. The sun shines on the country. but the poor continue to live in a miserable twilight. It is terribly difficult to prevent this. The leader who is determined to see to it that there is a proper distribution of prosperity may endanger not merely his office but even his life. But at such crises the world has seldom lacked heroes. Surely, in all our countries men will be found who will stand this test. They will have a hard time, but they will live in history and in their lifetime they will gain the respect of the whole world. The keen eyes of the world are on them now. They are kindly as well as keen. The nations of the Western world have no desire to criticise us, still less to thwart us. They seek our friendship. They ought to win our confidence. They know that both the peace and the well-being of the world depend, in large measure, upon us. They have understood, better than some of us as yet, how completely interdependent all the nations are. Let us then play our part; let us all help, whether Eastern and Western Nations, alike, by using every opportunity provided for us by this great organization to transform the wild turmoil and hostility of the world into the peace of one world, governed by true Justice and Goodwill.

That a nation, which scarcely half a century ago, was at the zenith of its power and glory, should to-day find itself in grave difficulties with its finances and its economic life threatened with collapse, is one of those strange ironies of fate to which humanity is subject. Providence is a jealous being. It cannot bear to see a nation, any more than an individual, long on top. Sooner or later, it is made to come off the pedestal. But those sterling qualities which enabled the British people to assume the leadership of the world, will surely sustain them in surmounting the difficulties which are now facing them, and help them to regain, rather to retain, the high, if not the foremost position they once held in the councils of the world.

The United States of America is facing a task of tremendous magnitude and responsibility. Destiny has cast upon her the role of defender and protector of the free world. She is carrying a burden which would have crushed any other country. But for her protecting arm, Western Europe would have been in the clutches of the Kremlin and the rest of the world, too, sooner or later, would have shared the same fate.

History records no parallel instance of a nation sacrificing, and capable of sacrificing, so much for the good of humanity as the United States has done and is doing, sparing neither money nor talent, whether in fighting pestilence and poverty in so many countries throughout the world, or in resisting the rising tide of communist aggression.

And yet, why is it that America's help, given so unselfishly and ungrudgingly and on such a colossal scale, is not adequately appreciated by the beneficiaries ? The answer lies partly in the proverbial ingratitude of mankind, but chiefly, I feel, in the psychological approach which the United States has adopted in offering aid. In her preoccupation with the menace of Communism, she has sometimes shown perhaps excessive anxiety to help countries to resist it that she has exposed herself to suspicion. They suspect her of some ulterior motive, when she has none.

The United States would add to her prestige and respect in the eyes of the Orient if she would exercise some control over the films produced in the country or, at any rate, over those exported abroad. American films are at present too much associated in the public mind with gangsterism and sex and have become almost synonymous with them.

The world is suffering to-day from man-made misery, avoidable and, therefore, all the more regrettable and unbearable. The armament race, which itself is the result of mutual suspicion between two blocs of Powers is directly responsible for the present deterioration in the national economies of countries, causing inflation, reduction of civil production and standards of living and many other "hateful ills"

In the United Nations Organization, nationals of all member-

countries are eligible for employment and most countries are thus represented in it. There is no racial discrimination; all are united in the service of a single democratic institutions. There can be no better demonstration of the fact that diversity of nation or race or creed is no bar to unity of purpose or to service under a common flag, if that purpose is a truly noble one and that flag a truly international one as it is in the case of the United Nations.

Christmas

We can pray and hope for the best and look forward to a reasonably bright future, taking comfort in the thought that the world has suffered and outlived much and men have contrived to be happy in it.

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Chapter IV

~~ENGLISH LANGUAGE~~

English & Indian Tongues

I am a great believer in the importance of the English language for India. Even in Indonesia, where the medium of instruction in the University stage, at any rate, is Dutch, I advocated a switch over to English as a second language in place of Dutch, which is not a world language like the former. If they must learn a foreign language, which is certainly a necessity in the case of Indonesia, for their own language is still undeveloped and has practically no literature of its own, it should be a language like English, which is in universal use.

In the Osmania University in Hyderabad, an Indian language is the medium of instruction. While it is the general view among University leaders that this is a right policy, there is nevertheless a considerable body of dissenting opinion, with very solid reasons for its opposition. Part of the real problem in India is how to adopt the students' own language as the medium of instruction, substituting it for English without imparing ~~the students'~~ their knowledge of English. ~~I think that a deterioration in the knowledge of English~~ is a very grave calamity for any Indian University.

I would go so far as to say, even in these days of intensely patriotic feeling, that no Indian University where sufficient stress is not laid upon the teaching of English can claim eminence as a University. We may translate thousands of text-books, and hundreds of treatises, but any serious student will have to go far beyond these and read widely in English. He must, if this is to be possible and profitable, have a genuine familiarity with the English language. ~~I think~~ rather a fetish is made, perhaps, of the idea of Urdu text-books, as I said to the students of the Osmania University as if their provision solved the problem - as if text-books were a student's sufficient nourishment. A text-book, if rightly used, is a blessing indeed; but its introduction should not mean that the students should become even less inclined than they have been to read beyond the text-book. Along with their Urdu text-books, the students should be able to extend their studies by wide reading in English. I stres English, in preference to other tongues, because it is becoming a universal language and beacuse it is already established in India.

During the last half - century there has been an extraordinary deterioration in the English of universities all over the country. It is no credit to a university student to be limited to his own language and to be far inferior to his predecessors of a few generations ago in knowledge of that world language which alone holds out to him and to his country the means of world-intimacy of any kind, but particularly, in those intellectus fields which must ever be the first concern of a university. English, as I always insisted, is best taught by an English professor who is familiar with the language as no one whose mother-tongue is not English, can possibl be. Just as Urdu, for example, or any other language, for that matter, is

best taught by one whose mother-tongue it is. But this is all the more true in the case of a language like English which it is extremely difficult for a foreigner to speak or write correctly.

In Indian universities, at least three languages will have to be taught - the local language, the national language. Hindi (where it is not the regional language) and an international or world language, like English. The student will have to be reasonably proficient in each of these languages if he is to be w worthy citizen of his country. In my address to the Aligarh students also, I laid special emphasis on the study of English.

Do not forget that men like your Vice-Chancellor, while essentially Indian in outlook, are familiar with the culture of the West and its immensely valuable social and political experience. And this is because of their familiarity with the English language. It is vital to your future that you also should try to obtain such familiarity. It would be an excellent thing if the Aligarh student could get a reputation for an exceptionally good knowledge of English, for wide reading and for understanding of world affairs. It is folly to forget hat English is already a world-language and it will become increasingly as the years roll on.

In India, the difficulty arises from the fact that there are any number of different languages each spoken by millions of people. Any language that is adopted as the national language will be a language foreign to a large part of the country. Hindustani, for instance, is perhaps the language most commonly understood, if not spoken in India, but even this language would be an entirely new language in the South and in some other parts. This is not the case in Burma, for instance, or in Egypt, Persia, China or Japan. In none of these countries is a foreign language the medium of instruction. They have their own text-books and I suppose they try to keep them fairly up-to-date. A nation, properly so called, must have its own national language. It cannot always subsist on a foreign language, but India is in a sense a continent consisting as it does, of diverse communities speaking different languages and it will be a slow process to adapt one of its own languages as a national language. Hindustani would have been the best language, as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, for adoption as the national language of India, but the Constituent Assembly has, unwisely, I think, decided on a highly Sanskritised version of it as the national language. It will not be an easy matter to nationalise this language. Until that process is sufficiently advanced, English will inevitably have to continue to serve the purpose as the main vehicle of communication in the national field.

Further, there is an important sense in which English may now be regarded not as a foreign but actually as an Indian language. Within the last century some of the finest writing in English has been the work of Indians. It has become rooted in our soil and has produced fruit that is native to that soil. It is so intimately associated with the development of thought and institutions in this country that any violent attempt to uproot it must mean injury to our national life and culture.

I was opposed to the division of India. ~~I do not think I was wrong in holding that view.~~ It cannot be denied that the partition of the country has resulted in the weakening of both the parts, India less so, perhaps, than Pakistan, which itself is split up into two distinct sections widely separated from each other - West Pakistan and East Bengal. It has made the position of a Muslim community within the Republic of India, numbering some 40 million ~~people~~ extremely difficult and embarrassing. It remains to be seen how it will all end.

The ultimate responsibility for the partition can fairly be laid at the door of Congress, and not that of Mr. Jinnah who, be it said to his credit, was prepared to accept Sir Stafford Cripps's offer, but Congress would not. Again, he accepted the Cabinet Mission plan, but Congress again raised difficulties. It is incorrect, therefore, to lay the entire blame on Mr. Jinnah, although the primary responsibility was unquestionably his.

Be that as it may, now that partition has been effected and Pakistan is an accomplished fact, let us wish it well, and I have no doubt that all right-thinking people in India wish it to be a happy and prosperous land, closely allied to India by ties of common interest.

To-day, unfortunately, the two countries are poles apart, distrustful of each other, unready to co-operate or compromise. The spirit of compromise is essential to all political intercourse. So long as both India and Pakistan are so very wary and suspicious and determined to have their own way ~~that neither will give way an inch to the other~~, none of their urgent mutual problems can ever be solved. How long can they go on spending such a large portion of their revenue on defence against each other, instead of laying the

CHAPTER XI.

COMMUNAL HARMONY IN MYSORE - ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

In a vast and heterogeneous country like ours, it is inevitable - and right - that patriotism, which manifests itself in increasing measure with the growth of political consciousness, should include a special allegiance to, and love for, one's own particular territory, religion, or language. There is the danger, however, that we may allow this to limit our perspective and our sympathy, and it may even degenerate into active antagonism to others. I believe that there is ample room in this spacious land of ours for all these different languages, creeds and cultures to exist together in amity and to flourish, each in its own sphere. India would not be half as interesting if it were otherwise.

There is, however, always the possibility of internal strife, by which I mean antagonism not only between the Hindus and Muslims, between the north and the south, between one State and another, and between the various cast castes among the Hindus themselves. Communalism and provincialism are ever-present dangers which have to be guarded against. The Brahmin and non-Brahmin feud in the south was very acute some years ago. It has fortunately subsided [illegible]nt with the advent of independence and the upsurge of nationalist feeling, but it cannot be said to have disappeared completely - far from it. The Tamilians and Andhras are not now as friendly as before, nor are the Mahrattas and the Gujaratis in Western India; the Sikhs have their own grievances and the States of Bengal and Bihar have their own differences. It is for this reason that the redistribution of States on a purely linguistic basis is to be deprecated. This might be a convenient arrangement from the purely administrative standpoint, but it would lead towards the ~~sowing the seeds of~~ disintegration of the country and disruption into so many different States in antagonism to one another, resulting ultimately in disruption and disaster. For instance, it would be a grave error to split up the State of Hyderabad into its component elements, transferring the Telugu districts to a new Andhra State, the predominantly Mahratta-speaking areas to a new Mahratta State, and the Kannada-speaking area to a new Karnatak State. Would it not be better to leave the States as it is, where different communities have for centuries lived together in peace and amity ?

I have been advocating the appointment of a special commission, such as would command the confidence and respect of all, to study this vital question from all angles and suggest the redistribution of the boundaries of the various States and the creation of new ones, not necessarily on a linguistic basis, but solely in the interests of the country as a whole.

The sooner this problem is tackled the better; otherwise there is the certainty of decisions of a far-reading character being made in a hurry as a result of incessant political pressure. Statesmanship consists in anticipating events and preparing for them, not in waiting upon them.

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India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests but I believe that it is this very diversity that will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that have been established in our country.

I can conscientiously say that, as a public man, I never deviated from the inflexible rule that I had laid down for myself, namely, to treat all communities alike and to further their interests in every way I could, so that they would always count upon me, as indeed they did I am proud to think, as a sincere friend and well-wisher.

When I was appointed Huzur Secretary at the Palace, I assured His Highness that I would see to it that neither the Vaidiks* nor the temple authorities would feel the absence of my Brahmin predecessor and that I would endeavour to the utmost to make all feel that their interests were quite safe in my hands. I was able to do much for the Sanskrit College at Mysore, an institution which was managed by the Palace and was, therefore, directly under my control. It was reserved exclusively for the students of the Brahmin community, and they acquired the ancient learning by the old orthodox methods. As was to be expected, there was strong opposition to the reservation of a public institution, maintained from public revenues, for the exclusive benefit of a single community, ~~which was the Brahmin community in this case~~. While sympathising with this point of view in principle, I was not in favour of throwing open ~~this institution~~ to non-Brahmin students. I felt that by doing this we should be destroying the peculiar orthodox atmosphere of this institution and converting it into an ordinary Sanskrit college. I, therefore, suggested to the Representative Assembly that the Sanskrit College in Bangalore might be thrown open to all Hindu students, but that the one at Mysore might continue, as hitherto, to be reserved exclusively for the students of the Brahmin community. The Assembly approved of the compromise and the Mysore College was saved from further attack. It is difficult to say how long it will continue to enjoy this immunity under the new dispensation. But I hope it will be left alone.

I was not a great believer in temple entry by legislation for the Harijans (the depressed classes). In Mysore State, at any rate, we experienced no difficulty in this respect. The backward classes were not prohibited from going into the temple courtyard and worshipping the deity from outside as most other Hindus did. Further south, the position was more difficult, but even there the reform could have been effected more gently and gradually but none the less effectively, without hurting the feelings of the orthodox people.

Sanskrit has, at all times, received special attention in Mysore. The Maharajas of Mysore took the keenest interest in Sanskrit and its savants. It was my privilege to promote Sanskrit learning in every way open to me, both while I was in the Palace and later as head of the

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* Vaidiks - Brahmin priests.

administration. The Pandits have for their part more than rewarded me for whatever service I may have rendered to them and to their sacred language. They, as a body, stood by me through good report and evil. They never for a moment misunderstood my intentions, and always felt sure that I was a well-wisher of their class. Even to this day, over a decade after my retirement from Mysore service, I am constantly receiving tokens of their goodwill. Their Holinesses the Jagadguru of Sringeri, the Parakalaswami of Mysore and the Lingayet Jagadguru of the Murugi Mutt* at Chitaldrug were extraordinarily kind. They were my staunch supporters in all my public activities.

I realised that I was serving a Hindu State and a Maharaja who was the embodiment of all that is best in Hindu religion and culture. It would be difficult to imagine a more pious, at the same time, a more broad-minded Hindu. It was not a matter of surprise, therefore, if I was so whole-heartedly with my Hindu fellow-countrymen in the service of their religion and culture. ~~It would, indeed, have been strange if I did anything in word or deed which would not be acceptable to His Highness or to the vast majority of his subjects.~~ I felt, a feeling which I venture to express in all humility and sincerity, that one pleases the Almighty more by serving other faiths than one's own. Paradoxical as that may sound, I believe it is, nevertheless, true, for to serve other faiths calls for something nobler than passive tolerance.

My own experience of life has taught me that religion is no barrier to true friendship. Some of my dearest friends are, and have been, non-Muslims. It makes little difference what a man calls himself - Hindu, Christian or Muslim. What counts is what he is, as I have often said when addressing students in colleges, and reminded them - "One is your Father, all ye are brethren. Therefore, let us love one another even as God loves us all".

In referring to this catholicity or universality, which I had made the rule of my life, Dr. J.R. Mott, Head of the Y.M.C.A., was good enough to say - that

~~Race, colour, and creed have never formed a barrier to him, nor do they to-day. Of this we have had abounding proofs. The night before I left England on my way to India, I was the guest of His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang) at Lambeth Palace. When he learned that I was coming out to India, he remarked to me, "I have a new friend out there, one I hope you may see, Sir Mirza Ismail". This leads me to say that when a man of such spacious mind and such penetrating recognition of the qualities of men as characterise this great religious leader embraces such a personality within the circle of his friends, it bears impressive witness that he has found a really kindred spirit.~~

Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, popularly known as the Grand Old Man of India, was a well-known political leader and thinker, highly respected not only for his intellectual gifts, but for his sturdy independence. ~~We were great friends.~~

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* Mutt - a religious organization under a spiritual head.

As a further illustration in support of my view that religion need be no bar to true friendship, let me quote from a letter which my revered Vimrath Brahmin friend wrote to me, dated the 15th July 1941. This was a couple of months after my retirement from Mysore.

I often think of writing to you but scarcely know what to write. I believe that ..... you cannot remain quiet and I believe you must be busy with something or other on behalf of our unhappy country.

My medical adviser says that I cannot travel to Bangalore by car or rail or indeed to any place. I am always in bed. God alone knows how much longer I shall live. Yet, it is my ambition to live near you and to let you close my eyes and see that the last rites are performed for me at Melkote. - (a sacred hill thirty miles from Mysore).

He was over 92 when he died, 19th April 1944.

The General Superintendent of the Methodist Missionary Society, Rev. H.H. Newham wrote, congratulating me, on behalf of the Methodist Missionaries in the State, on the extension of my term as Dewan:

I would like to assure you, Sir, ~~he says~~ that you are continually remembered by us in our prayers and in our concern for the welfare of the State for which we have come to have so sincere an affection. We thank you very much for all the kindness you have shown us and for the unvarying consideration which you have shown in your readiness to consider any matter that we have had to put before you.

~~The above~~ The letter and the following one from an extremely orthodox Brahmin gentleman, who is now no more, will serve to emphasize the fact that it is quite possible to move on the friendliest terms with people of all castes and creeds:

Mr. N. Srikantha Sastry, ~~the gentleman I refer to,~~ was the Agent of the famous Sringeri Mutt. ~~In complimenting me upon~~ a speech I had made at the Sanskrit College in Bangalore, wrote -

For my part, I recall to my mind what I had mentioned to you when I was last at Mysore as to my view regarding your previous birth. From my observations on various occasions, I have had very good grounds to believe that my view of your previous birth is right and the speech you have now delivered on the merits of Sanskrit fortifies me in my view.

I do not remember any of the previous Dewans, though some of them were Brahmins, ever spoke about the Sanskrit language in the strain in which you have done.

These tendencies, inherited from your previous birth, and now manifested in your deeds and actions, prove the correctness of my view. And I believe you will agree with me on this point. His Holiness also very much appreciates your interest in Sanskrit language. He agrees with me regarding your previous birth and sends you his blessings.

We had for some years as the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University a most learned man, Dr. (later Sir) Brojendranath Seal. We were in search of a Vice-Chancellor. I consulted Sir Michael Sadler and he recommended Dr. Seal who was then Professor of Philosophy at the Calcutta University. He was a remarkable man in many ways, a profound scholar and a man of encyclopaedic knowledge. There was hardly a subject, whether Science or Philosophy, or anything else, in which he could not hold his own. He conducted the affairs of the University for several years with great success and retired owing to failing health. In one of his last letters dated the 26th March 1930 from

Calcutta, he wrote -

It gives me much pleasure to get a few lines from you in my present condition ..... I am better now and my thoughts always fly to Mysore. ..... How I long to speak to you of the new thoughts and experiences which crowd upon me in my last days.

Life and the world have other values for me now, and I judge all things in the light of eternity. Still, human history grows with a sense of sweetness upon me as I am going to bid it farewell, and in that history a few friends and you among the foremost loom in my vision even as the world is faring away.

I shall not bid you farewell just now, let me say au revoir.

The Twenty-first World's Conference of the Student Christian Association was held at Mysore on January 2, 1937. It was the first one ever held in Asia. The Conference was attended by delegates from over thirty countries - All of the continents of the world were represented including the World's Young Women's Christian Association, The League of Nations, International Labour Conference and International Missionary Conference.

In the course of a speech declaring the conference open, the Maharaja ~~made a speech in~~ the course of which he said that he was proud that you should have chosen the State of Mysore for the meeting of your world-wide fellowship, and I am proud to welcome distinguished representatives of so many races and languages, I might almost say, of so many worlds. For, I take it, you are worlds apart, at least in the starting points from which you have reached your common goal. In your origins are to be found the strongest contrasts of brilliant inspiration and unwearying research, of stolid fatalism and feverish activity, of blind acceptance and obstinate questioning.

Yet, you have met together in one common faith and you have met in what may not unfitly be described as the holy land of another. Here in Mysore, before the beginning of your era, the King Chandragupta, having turned Jain and left his kingdom on pilgrimage, found peace in death. Here again each of the three great teachers of Hinduism spent a part of his life. Sankaracharya, the apostle of the absolute unity of God and all life and the soul, founded here the school in which his memory is enshrined and his work continued. Ramanujacharya, fleeing from persecution by the Chola kings, found in Mysore, even at that early date, that toleration and freedom of speech, which, following the example of my predecessors, I have always tried to make one of the watchwords of my Government. Later followed Madhva, with his doctrine of the duality of the soul and God, and what may, perhaps, be most attractive to you as Christians, his teaching of the necessity for bhakti, the love and devotion of the soul for God. Thus, you are surrounded here by places in which some of India's best and noblest have breathed out their lives in intense aspiration, in profound meditation, in the eager desire for absorption in God, and I trust you will be able to learn something of their spirit and practice, something of their methods.

While, however, the paths are different by which you and we, in Mysore, seek to reach the common goal of the ultimate Truth, I would fain believe that they are not so divergent as might at first sight appear. In his very interesting account of the origin and achievements of the Federation, writing in 1920, Dr. Mott said of it: "It stands, not for the oneness of uniformity, but for unity in diversity". Unity in diversity is exactly the ideal that I have many times commended to the people of the diverse castes and creeds of Mysore.

Dr. J.R. Mott, who presided at the Conference, was good enough to introduce me to the delegates remarking - What do we not owe to his initiative and collaboration in making possible our Conference here at Mysore: It has been my lot, in a travelling life, to visit some sixty-eight different

nations, most of them again and again, and to have opportunity to study the problems, methods, and results of administration. With this in mind, let me say that I regard Sir Mirza as one of the very small group of really front line administrators, from the point of view of achieving ability. ..... He has to a marked degree the power of vision, the ability to see what the crowd do not see, and to see it before others see. It is evident from a study of his career that he has some governing, guiding principles, and that he trusts these and follows them, no matter how many may oppose him, or how few go with them.

After Dr. Mott's speech, addressing the gathering, I said that it was, indeed, a unique gathering. All honour to the great organization that had brought together so many representatives from so many parts of the world. Europe had sent representatives of eighteen nations, Asia of nine, America of four, Africa of two and Australia of one.

In that pleasant and peaceful place, they were deliberately planning an offensive against the warring powers of evil, whose threat also was now more deliberate and more concerted and more dangerous than ever before. They stood for ideals that inspired us also -- the freedom of the spirit and unity, and peace; and we were not merely their hosts, we were with them in this fight.

This, I believed, was the kind of conference that did not fail. Of fruitless conferences the world was weary. Year after year men meet together, with honest purpose, with more and more desperate desire, to see peace and unity amidst the conflicting needs and ambitions of mankind in every sphere. But in the end, the narrower interest overrides goodwill, and fear, more powerful even than ambition, rearms us against each other. Th Thus, the kind of conference which was essentially a discussion of conflicting interests had so far suggested little hope of success. Unfortunately, the greatest conference of all, the League of Nations, was so firmly established in that class that any faint attempt at a nobler policy was either suspected, as cunningly veiled self-interest, or despised as a sign of weakness.

This Conference was of another mood, and a far more hopeful one. Here were all nations met ~~xx~~ together yet without one thought of conflicting interests. All were united in a single transcendent purpose.

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I am a great believer in the importance of the English language for India. Even if Indonesia, where the medium of instruction in the University stage, at any rate, is Dutch, I advocated a switch over to English as a second language in place of Dutch, which is not a world language like the former, and if they must learn a foreign language, which is certainly a necessity in the case of Indonesia, for their own language is still undeveloped and has practically no literature of its own - it should be a language like English, which is in universal use.

In the Osmania University in Hyderabad, an Indian language is the medium of instruction. While it is the general view among University leaders that this is a right policy, there is nevertheless a considerable body of dissenting opinion, with very solid reasons for its opposition. The real problem in India is to adopt the students' own language as the medium of instruction, substituting it for English without impairing the students' knowledge of English. I think that a deterioration in the knowledge of English is a very great calamity to any Indian University.

I would go so far as to say, even in these days of intensely patriotic feeling, that no Indian University where sufficient stress is not laid upon the teaching of English can claim eminence as a University. We may translate thousands of text-books, and hundreds of treatises, but any serious student will have to go far beyond these and read widely in English. He must, if this is to be possible and profitable, have a genuine familiarity with the English language. I think rather a fetish has been made, perhaps, of the idea of Urdu text-books, as I said to the students of the Osmania University, as if their provision solved the problem - as if text-books were a student's sufficient nourishment. A text-book, if rightly used, is a blessing indeed; but its introduction should not mean that the students should become even less inclined than before to read beyond the text-book. Along with their Urdu text-books, the students should be able to extend their studies by wide reading in English. I stress English, in preference to other tongues, as it is becoming a universal language.

During the last half a century, there has been an extraordinary deterioration in the English of universities all over the country. It is no credit to a university student to be limited to his own language and to be far inferior to his predecessors of a few generations ago in knowledge of that world language which alone holds out to him and to his country the means of world-intimacy of any kind, but particularly, in those intellectual fields which must ever be the first concern of a university. English, as I always insisted, is best taught by an English Professor who is familiar with the language as no one whose mother-tongue is not English, can possibly be; just as Urdu, for example, or any other language, for that matter, is best taught by one whose mother-tongue it is. But this is all the more true in the case of a language like English which is an extremely difficult tongue for a foreigner to speak or write correctly.

In Indian universities, at least three languages will have to be taught - the local speech, the national language, Hindi (where it is not the regional language) and an international or world tongue, like English. The student will have to be reasonably proficient in each of these languages if he is to be a worthy citizen of his country. In my address to the Aligarh students also, I laid special emphasis on the study of English:

> Do not forget that men, like your Vice-Chancellor, while essentially Indian in outlook, are familiar with the culture of the West and its immensely valuable social and political experience. And this is, because of their familiarity with the English language. It is vital to your future that you also should try to obtain such familiarity. It would be an excellent thing if the Aligarh student could get a reputation for an exceptionally good knowledge of English, for wide reading and for understanding of world affairs. It is folly to forget that English is already a world-language and it will become increasingly so as the years roll on.

In India, the difficulty arises from the fact that there are any number of different languages spoken by millions of people. There is no single language or speech common to the whole country. [illegible]

Any language that is adopted as the national language will be a language foreign to the rest of the country and, may be, to a large part of the country. Hindustani, for instance, is perhaps the language most commonly understood, if not spoken in India, but even this language would be an entirely new language in the South and elsewhere. This is not the case in Burma, for instance, or in Egypt, Persia, China or Japan. In none of these countries is a foreign language the medium of instruction. They have their own text-books and I suppose they try to keep them fairly up-to-date. A nation, properly so called, must have its own national language. It cannot always subsist on a foreign language, but India is in a real sense a continent consisting as it does, of diverse communities speaking different languages and it will be a slow process to adopt one of its own languages as a national language. Hindustani would have been the best language, as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, for adoption as the national language of India, but the Constituent Assembly has, unwisely, I think, decided on a highly Sanskritised version of it as the national language. It will not be an easy matter to nationalise this language. Until that process is sufficiently advanced, English will inevitably have to continue to serve the purpose as the main vehicle of communication in the national field.

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CHAPTER XV.

EPISODES.

An idea struck me and I am glad to say that I was able to carry it out, and that was to hold a Mysore Dinner annually in London in celebration of the Maharaja's Birthday. It was held at the Dorchester Hotel for the first time on June 23, 1934 on the occasion of the fiftieth Birthday of His Highness, and the last one was in 1938. The war came and stopped such functions, and the Maharaja himself passed away in 1940. The Birthday dinner came to be regarded as an event of some importance in London's social life. It was an occasion on which leading statesmen of the Empire gathered together and paid their tribute to the qualities of wisdom and statesmanship which distinguished His Highness's reign for many years. It was indeed an interesting occasion. It brought prominent Britons and Indians together. At the first dinner held in June, 1934, the late Sir Basil Blackett, former Finance Member of the Government of India, proposed the toast of His Highness's health. This was seconded by Sir Stuart Fraser who was Tutor and Governor to His Highness and Resident in Mysore. I give below a few extracts from Sir Basil's speech:

..... We had the opportunity of seeing Mysore, the Palace, and the City illuminated - a fairy sight, which those - and there are many here no doubt - who have seen it will agree, is one of the most wonderful sights in the world.

..... His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is, I suppose, one of the few rulers in India of whom it would be universally said that he is respected and loved by all his subjects. He is not only personally respected and liked, but he has one very remarkable characteristic. Though ruler of one of the biggest of the Indian States, he is the most advanced of them all and, perhaps, in advance even of the Government of India, in the matter of selecting officers among his subjects and in giving them constitutional government in the real sense, if not representative government as ordinarily understood. He is a constitutional monarch in his own sphere. He has provided his country with an up-to-date constitution, I will not say on White Paper lines, but on lines of a democratic character, which is working, and working with extraordinary success.

I had the honour to be the Finance Member of the Government of India which, a few years ago, was able to remit Rs. 10½ lakhs of the subsidy which the Mysore Government paid to the Government of India since a very long period now. In remitting that, the Government of India were able to realise that there was not the least question of that money going into the personal pocket of the Maharaja. It was a remission of a subsidy for the benefit of the State of Mysore. There was no question but that it would be faithfully and truly applied.

..... The Maharaja is a man who is himself a very earnest and religious man who holds his beliefs very sincerely, but - and this is a lesson which some of the critics of White Paper proposals and others in India might take to heart - he has, as his Dewan, in a State that is purely Hindu, my old friend Sir Mirza Ismail, a Mohammedan. He has, as his Private Secretary, an Englishman, Sir Charles Todhunter, a Protestant Christian, and he has, as his Assistant Private Secretary, an Indian who is a Roman Catholic. You will see for yourself the religious toleration that exists in Mysore, and that we may expect to see in India under genuine home rule.

..... I had a share in this interesting development on the Cauvery river. It had taken 40 years for the Government of Madras and the Government of Mysore, or rather the junior members of those two Governments, to arrive at a settlement of the question as to which Government had the rights to the waters of the river. It should be of interest to us that it is now satisfactorily settled and those waters are being actively used.

..... In 1831 for various reasons, the Government of India put the Government of Mysore into commission, and for fifty years it was ruled through that commission very much as a Province of India was being ruled and it had both the advantages and, if there are any, the disadvantages of that form of rule. In 1881 it was handed back to the ancient Hindu Dynasty. This is nobly represented in the Maharaja whose birthday we are celebrating to-day. It is a State, therefore, which had 50 years' experience of progressive rule on lines more easily associated with a Provincial Government in India than with an Indian State. For rather more than fifty years now it has reverted to the position of an Indian State, and during those fifty years I think it is agreed by everybody that in no way has Mysore fallen behind the standards set by the generations of British officials who administered the State. On the contrary, it has progressed; it has got to the forefront; it has provided models in many directions for work in the Indian Provinces themselves, and for the last thirty-two years of that period this successful administration of Mysore and Mysore's present proud position in India and all it has contributed to the Indian problems as a whole, can be put down to the personality of the present Maharaja and his wonderful talent in choosing, without bias, without prejudice, good co-adjutors to carry on the work for him. He has loved the State of Mysore and he has worked for it. .....

The four subsequent dinners were presided over by Lord Goschen (1935), Sir Harcourt Butler (1936), The Marquess of Willingdon (1937) and The Marquess of Lothian (1938), for lack of space does not permit of quotation of their Toasts to the Maharaja

An important decision had to be made by the Maharaja as to whether the numerous houses, most of them belonged to his own relations, within the Mysore Fort enclave, were to be allowed to remain or be acquired and demolished. The fate of the house in which his own mother was born and brought up was also involved. The total area of the Fort is barely 100 acres, and houses, big and small, were huddled together, forming an untidy mass, in close proximity to the Palace. The acquisition of all these properties meant an expenditure of some Rs. 13 or 15 lakhs, by no means a small sum in those days when the value of money was three to four times what it is to-day. I was strongly in favour of acquiring the houses, while many others were opposed to this. The Maharaja ~~thought it might help if he got~~ asked the Dewan, his maternal uncle, Sir Kantaraj Urs, ~~the~~ owner of the houses above referred to ~~who was a member of the Executive~~ Council, and Mr. R.H. Campbell, his Private Secretary, to advise him jointly, ~~whether the houses should be acquired or not.~~ on the matter The Committee decided in favour of the status quo. Economy in the case of the Dewan, sentiment in ~~the case of~~ that of Sir Kantaraj Urs, and conservatism and peace in ~~the case of~~ that of Mr. Campbell, were, doubtless, the considerations that influenced their attitude.

Just about this time, Mr. (afterwards Sir Patrick) Geddes, who had made a name for himself as a town-planner, appeared on the scene. I consulted him, expecting that he would suggest that the area should be cleared, but to my surprise, he was more than any one else, emphatically against such a proposal. He used some very poetic language, as was his wont, in giving his reasons - how wonderful it was to see the Ruler living in the midst of his people, his Palace towering above their dwellings, and sheltering them, and so on. He was most eloquent in describing the beauty of the existing state of things. This was another and a serious obstacle in my way. But His Highness could be depended upon to come to the right conclusion. He decided in favour of acquisition -- a wise and courageous decision it was, and so typical of him. "How few mistakes he makes", his Private Secretary, Mr. Campbell used to say of him, which was, no

doubt, a fact.

I happened to meet Sir Patrick a couple of years later in Baroda. He asked me how the question was finally decided. I told him that the houses had all or nearly all, gone. It was a great disappointment to him, to hear this - "I knew the spirit of destruction was abroad", he said. I was surprised that he should have taken such a view when the obvious course was to clean up the mess. Looking at the question from this distance of time, no one would, for a moment, suggest that the decision to get rid of the private houses was wrong. Indeed, it would have been a grave error if the houses had been allowed to remain. Those whose properties were acquired built better houses for themselves in far better localities, and were quite pleased with the authorities and with themselves. Sir Kantaraj Urs devoted the entire amount he got as compensation amounting to over a lakh of rupees for a charitable purpose.

A very dear friend of mine, Mr. Thos. Denham, who was, for many years, Professor of History and Principal of the Maharaja's College in Mysore - he is still remembered with affection and gratitude - wrote me ~~an interesting letter to me~~, giving his views on the changes effected in Mysore City since his days, with special reference to the Fort. I quote his letter below --

I wish to thank you most sincerely for the kind hospitality you extended to us last Saturday. It was my first acquaintance with the interior of the Dorchester Hotel, though I had often passed the original building and watched the erection of the present magnificent pile. Mrs Denham and myself much appreciate your kindness. I have known you personally for over thirty years, and it is a pleasant memory to recall your unvarying courtesy and kindness not only in words but in deeds.

I understand the name "Mirza" means "Prince", a courtesy title only if it precedes the surname, but legally that of a born Prince if it follows it. They say "What's in a name ?" A good deal I think, but although your surname follows the honorific, it is always the "Mirza" which predominates in my mind, and always with regard and affection.

Then you know the name Mirza will always have a place in literary history. It is more than sixty-five years since I read the "Vision of Mirza" in the 18th Century "Spectator", written by Steele. You must have had your visions also. One of them came to you when you were a young man, and that was of a beautified city of Mysore. You and I both remember the old Fort with its untidy moat and most undesirable surroundings. And now!! It is as though a magician had waved his wand and called into existence one of the most beautiful cities I have ever seen. Even since I left Mysore thirteen years ago the work of improvement has gone on. This I gather from a book of selected photographs sent me by poor Palinaswamy, a kind old student of mine and the Manager of your Office before his death. You must indeed be proud to think of what has been achieved and also grateful that you had His Highness the Maharajah as Patron to authorise and encourage you in your work.

You have heard the saying "See Naples and die."

Well, many years ago I saw Naples and I was not unwilling to die if the world had nothing better to show than Naples, with its squalor and smells. But I will go one better and say "See Mysore and live." You have literally left your mark on Mysore. In the vision of Mirza I have mentioned, Mirza in his trance asks the gods to show him the secrets which lay behind the clouds backing the Happy Valley. But this was denied him and he awoke to the ordinary surroundings of his life. No doubt you would like to penetrate the future at this critical time, but mercifully, perhaps, we are spared the knowledge of the future. But I hope in your case you will live to see the realisation of some of the beneficent visions you now hold.

(Mr. Denham was not quite right about the meaning of the word "Mirza"

literally, no doubt, it means son of a Mir - but it has lost all its original meaning. It is now adopted by families which are not "Syeds" - descendants of the Prophet - exactly, but supposed to be more remotely connected with him).

One of my distinguished predecessors, V.P. Madhava Rao, who had vacated office under not too pleasant circumstances, had not seen His Highness for over twenty-five years. He was getting old and nearing his end. I said to His Highness one day that I was feeling uncomfortable and was anxious that he might be pleased to allow me to invite Madhava Rao on his behalf to visit Mysore, as I did not like the idea of his leaving this planet with a sore feeling against him. His Highness smilingly agreed. Mr. Madhava Rao came and was immensely happy, and His Highness, too, who had a wonderful sense of humour, seemed pleased.

I returned here yesterday [Madhava Rao wrote to me] after a delightful visit to Mysore where I was made most comfortable, for which I am deeply obliged to His Highness, which I did on Saturday morning at the Summer Palace. His Highness, with his usual courtesy, made kind enquiries about my health which I greatly appreciated. . . .

On all the four days of my stay in Mysore, he continued, I indulged myself in my usual morning walk along the well laid-out streets of the City, and was greatly impressed with the lay out of the public roads and the vast improvements made in Mysore in recent years. I particularly admired the planning of the boulevards and parks which has been carried out with great taste and skill. I assure you I am not exaggerating a bit when I say that you have transformed old Mysore into a fairy land. the view of the City from the top of Chamundi Hills after dusk was most enchanting. Not having visited Mysore since the Palace was re-built, I availed myself of this opportunity to see the Amba Vilas Durbar Halls which are the grandest of the several palaces in Indian States which I have seen.

There is one door which should never be closed, and that is the door of reconciliation. It should ever be kept open for those who may wish to enter.

Madhava Rao, who had held the post of Dewan in the States of Baroda and Travancore also. He was the Dewan who had vehemently opposed my nomination to the Civil Service. I remember how difficult it was for a junior officer like me to go anywhere near the Grand Moghul in those days.

I was an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and kept in touch with him till the last. I never hesitated to talk to him freely and frankly. He was not a man to resent such frankness; on the contrary, he welcomed it. During the Round Table Conference days, Mahatma Gandhi became very difficult over the question of the Marijans. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu requested me to speak to him on the subject. I naturally asked her why she did not do it herself, as she saw more of him than I did. Her answer was that there was more chance of his listening to me than to her, but he listened to neither of us and went his own way.

When he last visited Bangalore in 1936, I took him out for a drive. As we were coming towards my house, it suddenly occurred to me to ask him whether he would care to look in and meet my family. He readily agreed. I said to him that I hoped that my wife was in, as I had not told her that I would be bringing him. I thought I should be giving him unnecessary trouble, and I had, therefore, hesitated. Fortunately, my wife was at home and others of the family, too. Gandhiji spent half an hour with them. It was wonderful

to see how agreeable he could make himself. As we were leaving, he turned to me and said, "Sir Mirza, I should have been disappointed if you had not brought me here". I did not imagine that he was so keen on coming to my house and yet he would not make the suggestion himself, lest he might be embarrassing me in any way. His thoughtfulness for others was unbounded. There was no man on the face of the earth more reliable than he, none on whom one could depend to the same extent, and none more worthy of confidence.

I invited him to [illegible] again in 1939 "Your kind invitation

The letter quoted below is typical of his attitude towards me.

I think I could say that he trusted me implicitly:

Even if you wrote on Viceregal paper I should not misunderstand you. May your work prosper in Jaipur!

I appreciate your warning. You will have no difficulty in believing me when I tell you that I am "walking in the fear of the Lord!" I shall be guilty of no hasty action.

Love to the whole family.

Yours

M. K. Gandhi

took me to [illegible] Manadev Desai, his Secretary, that I would be interested to see the village which was only a stone's throw from Gandhiji's Ashram. He took me there, and I could not help remarking to him that I was shocked to see the condition of the village. It was no better than any other village in the country. It is no use writing articles in the Press and preaching from public platforms how villages should be improved when you have not been able to do anything yourself and set an example. It is not impossible to improve our villages, but the administration has got to go about it in the right way. The villager should be made to take an interest in improving his village. His cooperation has to be secured and he should be taught how he can help himself. All this can be done, and has been done. I have no use for grandiose paper schemes which have a tendency to add to the difficulties and create unnecessary complications.

As a rule, the administrations in India, with very few exceptions, take little or no interest in the improvement of their cities and towns; the villages, of course, need hardly be mentioned in this connection. What a contrast this offers to what one sees in England, for instance. It is a joy to see the clean, well-kept roads, tidy gardens and trimmed hedges. Look at the open spaces in crowded London or Paris. How many cities in

India can boast of such parks ? Nor have we got small parks where the citizen can take a little rest. The municipalities are apt to spend their income, not on the improvement of sanitation and on the provision of the necessary amenities of life, but on educational institutions which it is the duty of the State Governments to provide at their cost.

Public parks and private gardens may not be the most important amenities in life, but they are necessary if we are to live a full and happy life. They enrich life's flavour. Plants are, indeed, beautiful works of nature. We find here an immense addition to the pleasures of life and a means of innocent and elevating recreation which can lift us above paltry thoughts of ourselves and raise us to Nature and Nature's God.

Let me give an instance of what I have in mind.

When I paid a visit to Madras in April 1952, I was shocked to see how the fine extensive grounds of the old Government House on Mount Road, had been not only neglected but positively misused. This extensive area, situated as it is in the heart of a big city, could even now be easily converted into an attractive park which would be a boon to the public in a hot climate like that of Madras. Instead, buildings, big and small, have been allowed to grow up any how. The new Assembly building in particular, which has cost the rate-payer some Rs. 10 lakhs, is placed cheek by jowl with the main building, instead of facing the most important road in the City, and thus helping to embellish it; and the building is itself an example of the ugliness that has taken root in the official architectural mind. A good opportunity of improving this part of the City has thus been lost, but it is to be hoped that this process will not be allowed to continue further. Madras would do well to seek the advice of a competent town-planner, and a landscape gardener. She would be rendering herself a great service. It is remarkable how costly mistakes are made for want of proper advice.

Maharaja Sri Krishnaraj Wadiyar, grand-father of the late Maharaja, had built a mansion for the entertainment of his European friends. It was he who thus started the practice, which in course of time developed into quite an institution in Mysore, of the Maharaja entertaining his personal friends twice a year, once on the occasion of his birthday, when a race meeting was also held, and again at the time of the Dassara festivities. The mansion was called the Jagan Mohan Palace.

The mansion was a distinctive structure, but quite unsuited for the modern European style of living. It was occasionally used to accommodate ruling princes, such as the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda. Looking back, I am quite sure that a much travelled prince like him must have been most uncomfortable in it.

I thought the mansion would lend itself very well as a sort of museum, in which the old furniture, bric-a-brac and other articles which were no longer required in the Palace, could be preserved and displayed to the public. A picture gallery was also created with the help of that great enthusiast and authority on Indian art, Dr. James H. Cousins, who made a great success of it.

The gallery began in an annexe to the ~~museum~~ newspaper, but in the course of years the museum expanded to such an extent that the entire mansion was turned into what is called the Jagan Mohan Chitrasala - a gallery of art mostly Indian, with examples of excellent artcrafts. Lakhs of people, many being visitors from the country at Dussara, go through it annually, and come under the uplifting influences of beauty and skill.

Mysore has an excellent guest house, known as Government House, where Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) lived for some time when he was Resident of Mysore. It is now modernized and furnished suitably. ~~Their~~ King George V and Queen Mary when ~~Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales~~ were entertained in it.

I was responsible for building, on an almost ideal site overlooking the City, another and a much grander mansion for the accommodation of distinguished guests, called Lalitha Mahal. His Highness was not over-enthusiastic when I first broached the subject to him. He feared opposition to it, but I thought it was a case of now or never, and succeeded in the end in obtaining his sanction. Ex-King Alfonso of Spain stayed there when he visited Mysore in 19 Although it is quite simply furnished, he said to me that he had eleven (or twelve) palaces in Spain, but none of them came up to this mansion in point of comfort and external appearance. ~~It was an agreeable surprise to me to hear this from him.~~

I well recollect Mr. Vernon Hartshorn's remarks when Lord Simon, he and I were motoring up to the mansion one evening dur ng their visit to Mysore. Incidentally, I may mention that Mysore was the only State which the Simon Commission visited. He was thrilled at the sight of the mansion and remarked to Lord Simon - "This is the way to do things". They were both highly impressed The flood-lit building and the long drive with the clusters of lamps on both sides of it certainly do present an impressive and beautiful spectacle.

I was very particular that even the factories owned by Government should present a tidy appearance and have, as far as possible, gardens of their own. This may sound a very expensive luxury, but it is in fact not so. To maintain the grounds in a tidy condition, and to plant and look after some shady flowering trees, costs little but yields rich fruit in the effect all this has on the minds of the people working in the factories.

I extended this policy of planting trees to schools and hospitals as well; in fact to all Government institutions. In schools and colleges, I tried to attach a label to each tree giving its common and botanical names. In this way, unobtrusively and agreeably, an attempt was made to create in the students an interest in trees, besides affording them much needed shade.

Another simple and inexpensive way in which I practised "adult education" was to hang mirrors in public offices and hospitals, particularly in rural areas, where much things are not ~~to be seen at all~~ usually. I thought that if the villager could see his own face, he would not only be amused, but would take an ~~interest in~~ and try to keep it clean.

Another practical step which I took in the ~~direction~~ of improving

the standard of living was to build bus stations. I started with one on a big scale in the City of Bangalore in 1940, as a counterpart of the railway station, the idea being that all buses going outside the municipal limits should start from and arrive at, a central place. Restaurants and public conveniences were provided.

Similar bus stops, but, of course, on an appropriately small scale, were planned to be started in all towns and important villages on bus routes. The bus stand was to have a restaurant and the income from the rental would ordinarily suffice to provide latrines and washing rooms for men and women passengers who are obliged to travel long distances in overcrowded buses. The washing rooms would have the inevitable mirror - and in addition, some soap, to familiarise the villager with the use of it. What does the passenger do now ? He can get no refreshment of any sort, not even drinking water, and has to go behind a tree or some other object to relieve himself.

The Bangalore Bus Station was unique in India. It cost Rs.1,30,000, but the income expected to be realized from it was Rs.7,300, giving a return of 5½ per cent. on the outlay. Even from the purely commercial standpoint, the scheme was thus a great success, but a municipality cannot always view its activities in terms of rupees, annas and pies. It has to provide amenities even if they do not pay a direct return in cash. Its real reward lies in the health and happiness of its city.

The problem of water-supply for a rapidly growing city is a problem almost everywhere, unless the city is situated in proximity to an assured source like a river or a big lake. The plight of Madras in May 1952 is a case in point. The administration should have tackled this problem long ago and provided the City with an adequate and assured supply of water. It should have at least reserved the Lake, which supplies water to the City, solely for this purpose. Instead, it has to supply water for irrigation as well. That should have been automatically stopped and the lands should have been converted into dry lands.

So far as the water supply of Bangalore was concerned, the administration was more vigilant and far-sighted. It provided the City with filtered pipe-water some decades ago from a reservoir which is situated 18 miles from Bangalore. It proved quite sufficient for some years, but with the rapid increase of population, the problem became acute again, and recourse had to be had to another tank in the vicinity, and this, too, was found insufficient after some years. A suggestion was put forward by the Resident that the capacity of the Hessarghatta reservoir should be increased by raising the bund and waste weir at a cost of Rs. 13 lakhs. I was Dewan at the time. I felt that while this suggestion was all right as far as it went, it would not be a lasting solution of the difficulty. We had to find a source which could supply the City with a great deal more than the 3 or 4 million gallons daily which Hesr and the other lake were supplying. I accordingly appointed a

to go into this question and select a suitable site for a new reservoir. The committee selected a site 22 miles from Bangalore and this site was the one which had been thought of by the British engineers in the Commission days some 60 years ago, but given up as they found it impossible to pump water against a head of 1000 feet in those days. No time was lost in building the reservoir as recommended by the committee. It supplies 9 million gallons daily to the City in addition to the 3 million supplied by the Hesserghatta lake which has also been reserved for this purpose. The new Reservoir, called Chamaraj Reservoir, can be depended upon to supply 9 million gallons daily even if the monsoon should fail for three years in succession. Thus Bangalore City has been placed in a reasonably safe position so far as this vital necessity is concerned. Nevertheless, the Mysore administration would be well advised to look ahead and prepare a scheme to ensure at least double the present supply, so that the development of the City may not be retarded for want of this precious commodity.

I met an elderly English lady, Madam de Balan, when she came in a visit to Bangalore and we became great friends. She was a wonderful correspondent and wrote to me regularly. Her letters were most interesting, full of shrewd observations and happenings in Europe and elsewhere. I met her again in London in 1931 when I went there for the first Round Table Conference. Unfortunately, I could see very little of her owing to my numerous engagements. A visit to my old friends, Sir Hugh and Lady Daly had to be made. They lived at Ryde, Isle of Wight. I was going by car, and I thought that I might as well take the old lady with me. She readily agreed, and we did the trip together. She stayed in a hotel at Ryde and I with the Dalys. I wanted her to meet Lady Daly. When I told the latter that I had brought a lady with me from London and that she was staying in a hotel and asked if she would allow me to introduce my friend to her, I could see that Lady Daly was horrified at the idea, but did not know what to say to me. She clearly did not wish to meet her, nor did she like to say no to me. I went to her rescue at once and said in a casual way that I was quite sure she would like the old lady, and that it was wonderful how active she was considering her age. She had been to Mysore and knew so many people there. Lady Daly appeared relieved, and agreed to see my friend, and she was even more pleased when she actually saw her. Madam de Balan was a keen and a really good bridge player, and Lady Daly, too, was fond of the game, and they got on very well together. In a letter dated 1st January 1922, she wrote -

So, the interesting Maharaja of Travancore is dead. I shall not forget him, he was really unique and an impressive figure. He was always anxious to know whether his State was not greater and better developed than Mysore.

I enjoyed the drive very much. The English landscape, the countryside and the neat and clean villages, always fascinate me. The woods are so attractive. One need not be afraid of encountering any wild animals or poisonous snakes in them.

A prominent politician from Bombay visited Bangalore and Mysore

during the Congress agitation days and gave us no end of trouble. He excited the students and others to such an extent that the police had to open fire to control the unruly crowds. He criticised everything the Government of Mysore did in the strongest possible terms. Constructive criticism is scarce, because it implies thoughtfulness and goodwill, just what this visitor lacked. Destructive criticism is common because it is so easy and so pleasant. The visitor did not like Mysore City - its beauty or its cleanliness, its parks and its lights. They seemed to have offended his eye. He was not pleased with the sight of the vast crowd either, who had gathered for the Dassara festival. They appeared to him hungry. The Government could only feed them on "beauty". How can one argue with such people ? - I asked the Assembly members. They do not seem to realise what a tremendous economic gain - leave alone the political, religious and festive aspects of it - the Dassara festival is to the State and particularly, to Mysore City. It attracted annually a large influx of visitors - at least 150,000 to 200,000 come from the State and outside. Assuming and it is not an exaggerated assumption that each visitor spends Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- during the five or six days he stays in the City, it earns Rs. 25 to 30 lakhs every year, and what is the expenditure that the Government incurs ? - Hardly Rs.5,000/-.

Mysore City would not have benefited to the extent it did if it was not so attractive and if the festivities were not held on such a grand scale. I am writing of the Mysore of my days, not the Mysore of to-day, with which I am not concerned.

~~Fig cultivation at Ganjam~~ This may seem a small matter hardly worth mention, but I am bringing it in merely to show that even a small matter like this can be productive of much good if it is properly handled.

Ganjam is a suburb of Seringapatam, the capital of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, which in their time had a population of half-a-million, it is said. It is now a comparatively insignificant village, most of its inhabitants having shifted to Mysore City, which is only eight miles away, or elsewhere. Ganjam has now no more than a hundred houses, mostly of mud. It was well-known, even in Tipu Sultan's days, for the figs it produced. The inhabitants used to grow them in the sheltered backyard of their houses.

When I came on the scene, I found that the fig cultivation had all but vanished, and both Seringapatam and Ganjam were languishing due mainly to the prevalence of malaria. It must have been endemic in Tipu's days, too. The British garrison which was stationed there on the fall of Tipu Sultan, suffered heavy mortality from both malaria and cholera, as is evident from the inscriptions on the graves in the cemeteries. Many young lives were thus lost. The Garrison was moved away to Bangalore after a couple of years for that reason. Thanks to D. D. T., malaria has been got rid of to a great extent and unprotected water supply was also provided, and at once a perceptible improvement in public health took place.

The fig gardens were suffering for want of water, although the

village was situated quite close to the river, but The difficulty was to lift the water from the river and take it to the gardens. Fortunately, electric power was ready at hand, and it was arranged to pump water from the river and supply it to the gardens at a reasonably cheap rate. The administration afforded other facilities, besides, such as a co-operative sales society to prevent unhealthy competition among the growers and permission to sell the fruits to passengers at the railway station without payment of a fee, over-ruling the Railway Department's objections. In this way, a new atmosphere was created and the growers began to prosper. I used to visit the village every time I went to Mysore, which I did at least once a month. It was a real pleasure to see how happy and thankful the people were.

The Rev. C.F. Andrews, so well-known and respected in India for his devoted labours in her cause, who happened to visit Mysore on a festive occasion remarked that while he was greatly impressed with the illuminations and much else that he witnessed in Mysore, what pleased him most was the fig cultivation at Gunjam, and the happy faces and the fruit-laden trees he saw there.

When I went there a year ago, it was a great shock to me to see the place slipping back to its former state.

I fear, we in India, are prone to concentrate too much attention on spectacular schemes to the neglect of smaller things which might be of more immediate and direct benefit to the country. For example, several huge irrigation works have recently been started at a staggering cost to the State, but sufficient attention is not being paid to the minor irrigation works which would yield a quick return at a comparatively small cost. These works require close attention and constant effort on the part of the administration and are, therefore, apt to be neglected, while a big irrigation project appeals to the imagination and is taken up with alacrity.

It takes years to construct a big dam and to bring the land below it under cultivation. Let me cite a concrete example from Mysore of which I have personal experience. The Krishnaraj Sagar (Lake) was completed in 19.. It was to irrigate 120,000 acres. Even to this day, so many years after the completion of the dam, the entire area has not been brought under cultivation, because of the many practical difficulties that have to be overcome before water can be supplied and the land is got ready for cultivation.

That major irrigation and power projects are a necessity in India, I would be the last to deny, but I do maintain that the State should not neglect the minor irrigation works which can give an almost immediate return and not divert all its resources to major projects at the sacrifice of the minor ones. If the State can afford to do both at the same time, let it, by all means, but how many States are there which have the resources, in men and money, sufficient for such a programme ? The question boils down to this - Are we making the best possible use of the limited resources both in men and in money at our disposal ? Moreover, let us not overlook the fact that huge projects are being embarked upon, with an expedition that makes one wonder if costly

mistakes are not being committed in the designing and execution of these works.

The Maharani of Bajang and her husband, who had made their home in Bangalore, were very popular figures in the social life of this City. She and my family were great friends. She was the daughter of His Highness Sir Shamsher Jung, a former Prime Minister of Nepal - and a most kind-hearted and charming lady she was. She came to me one day and said that she had a request to make. She was worried about the future of her favourite parrot - what would happen to him when she was no more ? Who would look after him ? So, she asked me if I would undertake to provide him a home in the Lal Bagh (the Botanical Gardens where some birds are kept) and she would give me Rs.5,000/- (about £ 400) to meet the cost of looking after him. I said to her that I could easily promise that the parrot would be well-looked after, but I might be able to suggest to her a better way of making use of the money. Thinking over the matter, I thought of a fairy fountain which Bangalore lacked. I made this suggestion to her and the good lady readily agreed. I started constructing one, and running short of funds, I asked her to give me Rs.3,000/- more. She gave that, too. With some more money from the State, the fountain was completed and a stone tablet was put up commemorating the donor's name. The Maharani was very happy that her money had been turned to such good account. This is the genesis of the famous fountain in Cubbon Park which is a never-ending source of pleasure to the citizens of Bangalore. After all this, the Maharani took the parrot away to Bombay. She died there and nobody knows what happened to the parrot, which really gave us this lovely fountain.

The Marquess of Lothian was delighted with the fountain and thought that it was the most beautiful fountain he had seen anywhere. Perhaps, its most attractive feature - apart from the usual lighting effects - is that it can be manipulated to play in different combinations by means of a valve-arrangement. I do not know why, but it is a fact that, as far as I know, there is no fountain anywhere else like this one. Thousands gather round it, on Sunday evenings particularly, and derive, as one can see, great pleasure watching it.

It is to my mind, an obligatory duty of the administration to provide for the recreation and mental enjoyment of the people, especially the poorer classes and enable them to enjoy themselves without having to pay for it. I have tried to do this wherever I could - in Mysore, Jaipur and Hyderabad. Such provision is necessary in these days if only to sustain public morale and outlook.

Unfortunately, in India very few cities seem to make a sustained effort to lay out public gardens and maintain them in a satisfactory condition. There should be no town of any size without its public parks and museums and places where the young and the old can resort for rest and recreation. Public parks and private gardens may not be the most important things in the world, but they are quite necessary if we are to live a full and happy life. They enrich life's flavour. Plants and flowers are indeed beautiful works

of nature. We find here an immense addition to the pleasure of life and a means of innocent and charming recreation which can lift us above paltry thoughts of ourselves and raise us to Nature and Nature's God.

The beautification of our towns and cities must be made a continuous process. The municipality need not be afraid of spending a portion of its income in making its town more attractive both to the citizens and the visitors. Slum clearance and the housing of the poor must go on paripassu with the beautification schemes; they are inseparable from them.

I must refer again to Lord Lothian. I asked him if he would care to visit the Mental Hospital, which had just been built. He was horrified at this suggestion and said that that was the last place he wanted to visit. I succeeded, however, in persuading him just to have a look at it even if it be only from a distance. We went and he was delighted with it. He said that it was a picnic place, not a hospital.

When Professor Edward Mapother, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P., Superintendent, Maudsley Hospital, London, and Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry, London University, visited the Hospital with a view to formulating proposals for a mental hospital in Ceylon, he described the institution as "a monument to the vision and wisdom of all those responsible for mental institutions in the East. This institution is almost unique among Mental Hospitals in India. The Government of Mysore seem to realise that it is not merely humane but economical to deal with mental patients at a stage when they are suffering from a particularly curable form of illness rather than to delay and segregate them when they are an intolerably social nuisance. It is quite evident that modern methods of diagnosis and treatment are available and freely used." I hope that the Government of Mysore will complete the buildings in all respects and equip and maintain them in a satisfactory condition.

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CHAPTER IX.

HYDERABAD: The Penultimate Phase

From Jaipur I went to Hyderabad as Prime Minister in August 1946. I was first offered this post in 1926 by the Resident, Sir William Barton, but I could not make up my mind to leave my Maharaja. The same offer came to me again in Lord Irwin's time when the Political Secretary intimated to me that the Viceroy would be pleased if I took up this responsible post and I was promised fullest support, and he added that Hyderabad would then cease to be a headache to him. With Lord Irwin as the Viceroy and a Resident like Sir William Barton, an old and much esteemed friend of mine from our Mysore days, I should have had a very interesting time, with every chance of making a success of the job. But again I could not make up my mind to leave Mysore and the Maharaja.

When the first offer came, I wrote immediately to the Resident, declining it. When I informed His Highness of it some days later, he was rather surprised, and said, after a short pause - "You may go, if you like". I knew what he meant by this and informed him that I had already declined the offer and was mentioning it to him merely for his information. I did not want him to feel that I had put him under any obligation by declining the offer.

In the British days, Hyderabad was regarded as by far the most important of the Indian States, as they were called. It was referred as the Nizam's Dominion. It has a population of some 20 million, and its total revenue amounted to over Rs. 22 crores. I use the past tense because its present revenue is much less, the Government of India having taken away, as in the case of other States, in pursuance of their settled policy, all its income from the railways and from certain other sources as well. Hyderabad is now very largely dependent on financial aid from Indian Union as a result of "federal financial integration", but the Union's grants are inadequate. This is the unhappy position revealed in the State's budget for 1952-53. Hyderabad surrendered revenues amounting to Rs. 957 lakhs; it is saved expenditure under these heads, of Rs. 371 lakhs; so has a net loss of Rs. 586 lakhs.

The Nizam was the ultimate authority in the State in all administrative and political matters, but only theoretically, for in reality the control of administration vested in his Executive Council, which consisted of a Prime Minister appointed by the Nizam, in consultation and with the approval of the Viceroy, and six to eight Members. The Nizam could not overrule his Council. I once said to the Nizam - "When I tell people that Your Exalted Highness is the most constitutional ruler in India, they do not believe me". He laughed heartily. It was so as a matter of fact. If the Nizam over-ruled the Executive Council, the Resident could intervene.

Apart from the natural desire for democratisation, it cannot be denied that the great majority of the people of Hyderabad, who are Hindus, were happy. The administration was reasonably efficient, and not unpopular.

Taxation was comparatively light and the administration interfered little with the lives of the people. If reports are to be believed the present "popular" administration is much less popular than the old regime.

This is the story one hears from all the former princely States. Inexperienced men and incompetent, unaccustomed to authority and subject to personal and party pressure, are now ruling the States. Their appointments, in many cases, are the reward of political and party service, and were given to those who could cause most trouble if unrewarded: sometimes a delicate calculation, the result of which roused bitter hostility in their unsuccessful rivals, and produced splits that paralysed policy. As always, the people and the country are the victims of personal ambition. In the resulting failure of government, strangers are sometimes brought in from the centre - up-right and experienced men, perhaps, - but unaware of local circumstances, unfit therefore to deal with the various classes of local people. Unaware, too, of the development of government in the area before these convulsions, and contemptuous of local administrative ability, judging it by those whom they find installed in power.

These processes are by no means appreciated by the public, whose interests suffer, and who are accustomed to a tradition native to the soil which had already been developing towards a genuinely Indian sort of democracy.

There is no doubt that the people miss their old rulers, and all the pomp and circumstance associated with them. Even that, it seems, has its real and abiding value in this curious world. Volumes might be written on the advantages of benevolent personal rule, but I will only remark that authority always does well to clothe itself in dignity, even in splendour; and that loyalty, one of the noblest and most healthful of human instincts, is not so common nowadays that any worthy source of it should wantonly be destroyed. You cannot, without impoverishing and weakening the Indian mind, take away its instinct of loyalty to a person or institution, and far better a near and visible person, intimately concerned with local affairs, than a distant one, unknown and idealised.

It is not, then, a matter for surprise that "popular" ministries in the old States should be so unsuccessful. It is not entirely their fault. The circumstances in which they have to carry on the administration are such as to make any ministry, constituted as these are, both inefficient and unpopular.

Let me give an example from my own experience. I found that the administration of Jaipur gave me more trouble than that of Mysore though the latter is a much bigger State, for the administration of Mysore was manned by trained and experienced men, appointed simply for their ability and fitness. How is it possible, I ask, for a ministry composed entirely of inexperienced men, and in the circumstances of to-day, to administer with any degree of success, not only Jaipur but at least half-a-dozen more States, even more backward than Jaipur, comprising the whole of Rajputana, with an area of

116,000 square miles ? It has a multitude of problems, I do not say to solve, because that would be a miracle, but to struggle with. The States Ministry will do well to devote some attention to this problem. It was not well-advised in uprooting the well-established old regimes, and making radical changes in such a hurry. Precipitate action seldom pays in the long run.

In saying all this, I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am speaking as one who has no further interest in appointments and no personal predilection for any particular form of government. My opinion has been formed purely on a detached and disinterested basis, not on considerations of political theory but on observation of actual results. ~~So far as I am personally concerned,~~ my career is all behind me, none lies in front of me, and I have fortunately, no public future to carve out for myself.

I was always keen on going to Hyderabad as Prime Minister. After I left Mysore, I happened to visit Hyderabad at the invitation of His Exalted Highness who was, as usual, most kind to me. He told me that if he had known of my resignation in time, he would have offered me the Premiership.

It was only in July 1946 that I received a definite offer. Having come to know that there was a possibility of the Nizam appointing me as his Prime Minister, Mr. Jinnah started writing and telegraphing to the Nizam, exhorting him not to appoint me and threatening him with dire consequences if he disregarded his advice. And when he came to know, a month or so later, that I was ~~really going to get the post~~, he rushed to Hyderabad to see the Nizam and made a determined effort to stop him from proceeding further. It was common knowledge that Mr. Jinnah behaved rudely to the Nizam and the latter did not conceal his resentment ~~against him~~. I do not think they ever met again.

~~I give below~~ A detailed account of the interview was given to me by Nawab Hosh Yar Jung who was present on the occasion. The Nawab was one of the three or four officers who waited on the Nizam daily. As the Nawab ~~said~~, it was an interview the like of which the Quaid-i-Azam had never experienced before.

Mr. Jinnah entered the room smoking a cigar and seated himself in the chair in front of the Nizam with his legs outstretched. Immediately, there was an explosion. His Exalted Highness shouted at him: "Do you know who I am ? Is this the way you behave towards the Nizam of Hyderabad The attack was so sudden and unexpected that the visitor was completely flabbergasted; he withdrew his legs, threw away the offending cigar and apologised. But the storm having burst, the belated apology did not ease the situation. ~~His Exalted Highness~~ The Nizam swamped him with angry questions - What do you want ? What do you want to tell me ? and so on and so forth. Mr. Jinnah wanted to say something about the appointment, but before he could utter a few words, His Exalted Highness shouted - "I do not want any

outside interference in my affairs. I can take care of the interests of my own people. I do not wish to discuss this matter with you".

I was told that "the whole palace rescunded with his angry voice, so much so that the oldest servants of the palace said that they had never seen him in such temper before". In between the explosions, Mr. Jinnah somehow managed to play his last card by uttering the warning that the Muslim League would never extend any support to Hyderabad either in its internal affairs or in the Constituent Assembly, if his advice was disregarded. That only made matters worse. "What do I care, you were never helpful. I am not going to ask for your help".

Mr. Jinnah then said something about constitutional reforms. His Exalted Highness cut him short - "I am a busy person, Mr. Jinnah. I cannot go into details with you. If you wish to discuss the reforms, please go and see the Minister in charge. Anything more ? No ? Then good-bye".

"The interview lasted just 23 minutes. But this new side of the Nizam's character came as a surprise to all of us. We never thought that he could be so firm and so furious. The Quaid-i-Azam has had the lesson of his life. But we know that this does not end here. He is a very vindictive man, and immediately after the interview, he started long conferences with local leaders".

The only reason, as far as I know, why Mr. Jinnah objected to me was that I would not join the Muslim League. I did not join the Congress either. He felt that every prominent Muslim in India should be a Leaguer, otherwise he regarded him no Muslim. He thought I was also closely associated with Congress, but this was not a fact. I was on friendly terms with many of the top Congressmen, but it was quite impossible for me to join either party nor, was it possible for me to join the Muslim League either. He was keen that I should work with him. But, as I tried to explain to him, I could not very well do that without forswearing my past, apart from the views I held on the fundamental issue of partition, I had been so closely associated with a Hindu Maharaja and a Hindu State and had so many of my dearest friends among Hindus, that it was quite impossible for me to think of joining an organization which was so anti-Hindu in its policy and aims.

Even afterwards, we were no longer on friendly terms; he expressed his keen disappointment to several of my friends that I would not join him and help him to build up a great Pakistan. Whatever his attitude may have been, once he gained his point, he could act magnanimously towards his opponent.

I was told by a very distinguished person how Mr. Jinnah offered to entrust him with the entire responsibility of guiding the foreign policy of Pakistan as his own knowledge of foreign affairs, he said, was so meagre, although they had actually fallen out in pre-partition days. My friend said that this one instance was sufficient to show how magnanimous he could be.

As an English friend wrote to me (July 23, 1946), Mr. Jinnah's

visit to Hyderabad was most unfortunately timed and its repercussions had not died down when my appointment was announced. The Reforms Scheme, too, which had just been published, caused agitation, as the Muslims disliked giving up any part of the past monopoly of power, while the Congress minded Hindus objected that the Reforms did not go nearly far enough to meet their wishes. It was a very good thing, however, that this had been done before my advent, so that the Muslims would not be able to attribute the responsibility for them to me. (As a matter of fact, this was done in accordance with the advice I gave to His Exalted Highness). My friend prophetically added that "one thing is clear is that, if trouble is to be avoided, the State Government will have to show itself much firmer than it has done in the recent past as regards the maintenance of order and control over the Press. A strong hand is therefore badly needed at the helm and I trust it will not be long now before you are here to take control. Your task will be a difficult one, but as compensation you will have a wonderful opportunity of making a name for yourself as pilot of the largest Indian State at, perhaps, the most critical time in his history".

I went to Hyderabad full of hopes and ambitions. Soon after my taking over charge, I broadcast, as is now the custom, a message to the people of Hyderabad, which appears as an appendix to this volume. But, no amount of persuasion or appeal to reason and commonsense could have any effect upon the Muslim politicians of Hyderabad. They had already made up their minds to pursue their own suicidal course.

Mrs Asaf Ali, the socialist leader, came to Hyderabad on a short visit, and, as usual, made some fiery speeches. We had to consider the question whether to permit her to come and make public speeches or to prohibit her entry into the State altogether. Taking all circumstances into consideration, including the fact that her husband had just gone to the U.S.A. as India's Ambassador, the Council came to the conclusion that we might let the lady come. Strong objection was taken to the speeches she made and I was criticised for allowing her to come into the State at all, although the decision was that of the entire Executive Council. At a party in my house, some newspaper editors and others at home spoke to me expressing regret that she should have been allowed to speak in this manner, not sparing even the Ruler. I replied to them that if I was guilty, how were they less guilty ? Why did they give so much publicity in their columns to her "poisonous" utterances and listen to her so quietly, instead of throwing an egg or two at her?

A month or two later, at a luncheon party at Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's house, I met Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali. "Who is this charming lady on my right ?" I asked Maulana. "Don't you know, she is Aruna" ? "I see, this is the fire-brand that gave me so much trouble in Hyderabad ?" I said. I asked her why she was so unkind and did not come to see me; I should have been so pleased to meet her, [illegible].

Soon after I arrived in Hyderabad, I received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi with reference to the political reforms that had just been announced. He was not satisfied with them, I gathered:

Representatives from Hyderabad have seen me. They are Shri Kashinath Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath. They have discussed with me the so-called reforms contemplated in the State. I have studied them somewhat as they appeared in the Press. The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I do not know that you can do much to alter them but I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any State can do at this time is to recognise the status and influence of the States Peoples' Conference of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is President and secure its endorsement before proceeding with any popular measure. This ensures smooth passage for any such thing.

Rajkumari has already drawn your attention to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu's pamphlet on police atrocities in some of the Hyderabad villages. I would like you to enlighten me on these two points.

I am sorry to have to worry you when you have just begun your new career.

To which I replied:

I write to thank you very much for your letter.

As you know, I have just taken charge, and am busy studying the many problems with which the State is confronted, one of them being the reforms. These, I realise, are unsatisfactory in several respects, but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects and bring the reforms into line in all essential respects with those in Mysore, Baroda, Jaipur or elsewhere. Hyderabad has got its peculiar problems, and these have to be solved in its own way. If there is one thing more than another which has pleased me it is the liberal attitude of His Exalted Highness towards constitutional changes. I was particularly pleased to notice how fair he wants to be in dealing with the communal question. Such being his attitude, I have every reason to hope that the progress of Hyderabad in the constitutional as in other fields - education, industries, public health, etc. - will be as gratifying as it will be rapid in the near future. I hope, therefore, the world will give us a little time to make a start and then see how far we have been successful.

It is my intention to send for the various groups and discuss the reforms with them. Then, if they agree, summon a joint meeting and decide on the changes to be made. I personally would prefer this course, rather than scrap the reforms altogether and start afresh. The latter course would involve considerable delay. It would take a Committee at least two years, if not more, to collect evidence and submit its report, as I know from my experience both in Mysore and Jaipur. I cannot afford to wait so long, nor is it desirable from the public point of view, and so I am anxious to get a move on with as little delay as possible. No constitution and no arrangement is either perfect or permanent. Changes can always be made as we go along. To make a beginning is really the important thing.

You may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age, and will do all I can to further the interests of the people and establish constitutional government in the State. I can only hope that you will be satisfied with this assurance from me and rely upon me to do all that is possible or advisable in present circumstances to achieve our common aim.

Mahatma Gandhi was not satisfied and wrote to me again:

Much as I should like to, I may not write to you in Urdu.

I have now talked to Swami Ramanand Tirath and Shri Kashinath Vaidya. As I have already told you the contemplated reforms are no reforms. The more I think of them the more I feel that they are not worthy of you. You may not seek to impose them on the inhabitants of Hyderabad. If you are sure that the States Peoples' Conference does not represent them, then of course I am out of court.

Maulana Sahib wants to help you; Sarojini Devi likewise. I count

myself among them. But you know my limitations. I am a born Satyagrahi and hope to die as such, and that is my limitation as it is my strength. Strength has got to be proved. The limitation scares all my friends in the face.

If you cannot scrap the reforms and if you will not impose them, you should postpone them and see whether they admit of amendment so as to make them acceptable. If you cannot do this I must not guide the friends who have come here. Of course, their real guide is the States Peoples' Conference. But they have not yet learnt to forget me as I would like them to do. And since you and I know and like each other I must write this for what it is worth.

A demonstration was staged by the students of Hyderabad. I forget the exact date or what the immediate provocation for it was. The procession consisted of some five thousand students from the different colleges and schools in the City, according to the police report, and was marching towards the City. The Commissioner of Police had orders from the Police Member of Government not to allow the procession to pass beyond a certain point. I was not aware that such an order had been given. When I rang up the Police Commissioner to ask what was happening, he told me that the procession was moving towards the City and that he was going to stop it at a certain point, as ordered by my colleague. I told him at once that he should do nothing of the kind but let the demonstrators take as long a walk as they pleased. He was not to interfere with them unless they became too rowdy. I added that I thought that if they were left alone they would get tired soon. In the blazing mid-day sun, they would - I indulged in a paradox to his amusement - soon cool down; and it happened as I had hoped and expected. The procession soon petered out.

No one was more pleased than the Police Commissioner himself. He could not thank me enough, remarking that if the order not to stop the procession had not been given in the nick of time, an ugly situation would have arisen, resulting possibly in bloodshed. As it was, everything passed off peacefully and the whole incident was soon forgotten.

The Commissioner of Police was none other than Nawab Deen Yar Jung who figured so prominently in the crisis which overtook Hyderabad a year or so later. He was a clever man and enjoyed the confidence of the Nizam and was, towards the end, the most powerful man in the place. Unfortunately, however, he failed in the moment of danger and ~~proved himself an arch grave-digger of his master.~~

The Hyderabad State presented a most pleasing spectacle of Hindu-Muslim unity in its truest sense. Its social and official life was an amalgam of Hindu-Muslim culture. The Nizam had no more loyal and devoted nobleman in his dominion than the late Maharaj Sir Kishen Pershad, scion of an ancient Hindu family, a hereditary Peshwa or leader who took precedence of even the Prime Minister. Sir Kishen Pershad was Prime Minister for some years. He exemplified in himself the best type of Hindu-Muslim culture. It was often difficult for me to make out whether a person was a Muslim or a Hindu. They dressed so much alike and Urdu was their common

tongue. I did not like to ask my visitor if he was a Hindu or a Muslim, but I tried to find this out by asking his name.

I had set apart two mornings in the week to grant interviews to all and sundry when I was at headquarters. This was my practice in Mysore and Jaipur also. It was a very taxing duty, as can be easily imagined, seeing dozens of people each having a request to make or a grievance to ventilate. But it was worth while. It satisfied the public, as nothing else could to the same extent, and it was a great preventive against corruption. I knew of no better method than this of checking corruption among officials. In Mysore, while I was the head of the administration, I think I am not exaggerating when I say that corruption was practically non-existent. In Jaipur, too, it had come under control, though, perhaps, not to the same extent. In Hyderabad as well, people began to feel that a new freedom had dawned upon them, and that officials were much more courteous and considerate to the public than before. All this was a direct result of the head of the administration being so easily accessible to the public and giving them every opportunity to lay their grievances before him individually and privately. I saw from two to three hundred people each of the two mornings. A report reached the Nizam's ears that his Prime Minister was busy holding "durbars" twice a week in his office. I assured the Nizam that I was not holding durbars but was slaving for him and his people.

My weekly inspection visits to the City were another feature of my administration, and they produced excellent results. In Bangalore, I did these inspections on horse-back on Wednesday mornings regularly, accompanied by the President of the Municipality, the Commissioner, the Executive Engineer and the Health Officer - visiting every nook and corner of the City.

In Jaipur, I used a big car, so also in Hyderabad, to carry me and four or five officers. The results were most gratifying and the public were quite pleased - and astonished when they saw how quickly things began to move. I myself derived much pleasure in doing this sort of work - visiting the poor people in their homes and ascertaining their wants and trying to meet them then and there.

Apropos of this, I may quote a few sentences from an article that appeared in the Bombay Chronicle of December 30, 1946:

Just four months ago Sir Mirza Ismail took over the reins of office in Hyderabad from the Nawab of Chattari. Yes, it is only four months. Yet within this very short period he has brought about a silent revolution in the administration. It has come almost unknown. There is a change everywhere. People have begun to take a live interest in their Government. Their President is seen working day in and day out animated with the single thought of ameliorating their economic condition. Hindus and Muslims find that he is their true friend. There is nothing of the communalist in him.

Things have changed. Formerly it was difficult, almost impossible, for the common man to see the Prime Minister, who lived in a secluded palace. Gone are those days. Now a democrat is enthroned in the seat of power. On every Saturday men and women go to see their President. It is a vast mass of humanity surging forward to see "Mirza Saheb". These men and women

meet him. Every one has a story to tell. It is about some executive order, or a complaint against some officer. Some relate their family troubles. But to everyone the Prime Minister listens, and each man returns home satisfied and happy. No single act of the Prime Minister has done so much to endear him to the people as this.

Again, see what has happened to the capital city. Hundreds of people are now working in the capital, pulling down this building, erecting that structure, levelling this road and closing that. It is not the work of a great artist, who is eager to make the city beautiful and grand. Nothing is too small for his attention. Often he goes on horseback inspecting the city. The day will come soon when the slogan will be "See Hyderabad and die".

What an enormous amount of work there was to be done in Hyderabad, and what a wonderful country it could have been transformed into, if only I had had a chance to do what I wanted to do and had been given a little more time. It was this hope and this ambition that took me to Hyderabad. But neither was destined to be fulfilled.

Although I did not remain long - I was not there for more than ten months - I am not sorry I went, nor am I sorry I came away so soon. With the withdrawal of British control, I found, as I had fully anticipated, that it was quite impossible to stay much longer. The Nizam was bent upon independence. Even more so were that wretched band of foolish Muslims called the Ittihad-ul-Muslamens. I quote a few sentences from an intercepted press telegram sent to the Ittehad paper in Hyderabad, just to show what a poisonous lot of people I had to deal with in Hyderabad. No lies were too gross for them. They were bent upon moving heaven and earth to see me out of Hyderabad:

While Muslims of India, the telegram stated, are boycotting the so-called Constituent Assembly which has lost all its importance as constitution-making body and has been reduced to the position of all-India Congress committee, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, himself a Muslim and Chief of Muslim Dominion of Hyderabad, is hobnobbing with Congress leaders in lobbies of Constituent Assembly almost every day. Sir Mirza is seen in corridors flirting with Congress members and greeting them with folded hands like Hindus, some times he was heard saying 'Namesthe' or 'Namaskaram'.

He is also believed to have said that the Hindus being in a great majority, would rule in the long run despite all difficulties.

I read out the telegram to His Exalted Highness and to the Executive Council also, as a typical example of the false and malicious propaganda that was being carried on against me by the Ittehad.

Sir Arthur Lothian, the Resident, was perfectly right when he warned me against the activities of this poisonous organization and said that unless it was suppressed effectively, it would bring about the downfall of the State - which it did as soon as it got the opportunity.

Here is another choice speciman of false propaganda:

It has been revealed to the Press Exchange that Sir Mirza Ismail, ex-Prime Minister of Hyderabad, had constructed a small room in "Shah Manzil", where he had kept some "images" for the convenience of his Hindu guests and visitors.

Pending the arrival of silver images which had been ordered, clay images were kept in the room and a "pujari" was appointed for this purpose.

I found that even senior officers of the State - many of them - had also lost their heads. I should have been a thorn in the flesh of all these people. So, when I came to Bangalore for the summer recess, I reviewed the position and came to the conclusion that I should not go back to Hyderabad. I had also a suspicion that the Nizam had other ideas and would not be sorry to see the last of me. I sent in my resignation.

It is with the deepest regret, I wrote to the Ni am on 15th May, 1947, that I have to ask Your Exalted Highness to relieve me of the high office with which you have been pleased to entrust me.

At a time which is, perhaps, the most critical the Dominion will ever know, I came to Hyderabad at Your Exalted Highness's invitation, full of enthusiasm and with deep attachment to Your Exalted Highness's person and dynasty. I was determined to devote my life-long experience and the capabilities which God has given me to the right solution of the many problems with which the future of the Dominion is beset. In pursuit of this earnest desire, I had planned many things which in the fullness of time, would have assuredly contributed to the greatness and glory of Hyderabad and to the happiness and prosperity of your people. I could only succeed in such a task if I were assured of Your Exalted Highness's full support and sympathy.

I have had the misfortune to find myself opposed at every turn, by a certain section of the local Mussalmans who, in my opinion, are set on a course that is suicidal to the State. I have not taken a single step that has been detrimental to their real interests. On the other hand, I have done all that is humanly possible to serve them, but in vain. At the instigation of arch conspirators who have other ends to serve, they have carried on a vigorous and calculated campaign of vilification against me.

It has been my further misfortune to find that I have lost the confidence of Your Exalted Highness. The intrigues and agitations to which I refer are, I firmly believe, directed as much against the interests of Your Exalted Highness as against myself. But, while a word from you would have stopped the campaign at once, you have maintained silence, and the agitators have given the impression that they enjoy Your Exalted Highness's goodwill and patronage.

Only recently, I wrote to Your Exalted Highness from Berar saying that unless Your Exalted Highness could give me your fullest confidence and support it would not be possible for me to carry on.

As that support has not been forthcoming, there is no alternative for me but to ask to be relieved. Inspite of the sad memories of my stay in Hyderabad, I shall always pray that God, in His mercy, may protect the Asafjah Crown from the dangers that I see looming ahead.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, a veteran statesman of India and for some time an adviser to the Nizam, wrote in an article contributed to the Indian Nation:

Early in 1946, the Nawab of Chhatari had to leave and, after a good deal of negotiations, Sir Mirza Ismail was chosen by the Nizam as his successor. The Hindus of Hyderabad welcomed his selection, but the extreme Muslim element was immensely dissatisfied. Mr. Jinnah tried to intervene and went to Hyderabad to persuade the Nizam to withdraw his offer of appointment to Sir Mirza. The Nizam was firm and Mr. Jinnah had to return angry with the summary manner in which his advice was turned down by the Nizam. Sir Mirza Ismail went to Hyderabad full of hopes and ambitions and started remarkably well. With his broad outlook Catholic liberalism, inherent culture, and vast State administrative experience, he was a most appropriate choice and was the one man who could have stabilised the administration, and brought about an understanding between the two communities. He did not take long to show his anxiety to be fair and just to all communities and to purge the administration of reputed corruption. He also got full support of His Exalted Highness the Nizam in the beginning, but unfortunately the extreme Muslim opposition represented by the Ittehad hardened, and the leading part in this opposition was played by Moin Nawaz Jung and Syed Taquddin, a Bihari Secretary in the Government of Hyderabad who had been dismissed by Sir Mirza. It was suspected that the opposition

was also receiving great financial support from Mir Laiq Ali, the brother-in-law of Moin Nawaz Jung.

One Qasim Razvi, a pleader by profession, by this time had made tremendous headway to securing for himself the leaadership of the Ittehad. Short in stature, a man of mediocre ability, a good speaker, of low mentality, with no political training or vision, with none to curb his extremism, he soon emerged, supported by Mir Laik Ali, Moin Nawaz Jung and Taqiuddin as the paramount leader of his party.. He also exploited to the full the interference by Sir Mirza with vested interests and carried to the Royal Palace, through his adherents, fancy stories about the dissatisfaction of the Muslims with Sir Mirza's administration. Sir Mirza could stand no nonsense, and finding that he was not getting the support which he expected and deserved from the Nizam, he left for Bangalore and never returned afterwards. Sir Mirza's exit put the seal on the doom of Hyderabad. Nawab of Chhatari was again summoned by the Nizam, and returned to Hyderabad.

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CHAPTER .X...

~~THE PROBLEM OF HYDERABAD~~ The End of a Dynasty

When I saw that the Hyderabad situation was taking a really serious turn, I wrote the following letter to ~~His Exalted Highness on the~~ the Nizam (1st May, 1948):

In ordinary circumstances, I should have hesitated to write to Your Exalted Highness, but the present circumstances are such that I feel I must.

I cannot forget that Your Exalted Highness has been uniformly kind to me all these many years that you have known me. You were kind to me even when you did not approve of all that I was doing as your Prime Minister, as I came to know later. It is, therefore, a duty which I owe to Your Exalted Highness that I should write to you at a time when the fate of Hyderabad is hanging in the balance.

During his recent visit to Bangalore, I had a talk with Lord Mountbatten about Hyderabad. I made some suggestions to him which he seemed to appreciate. May I, likewise, make just one suggestion for Your Exalted Highness's serious consideration. My suggestion is simply that Your Exalted Highness should invite Lord Mountbatten to Hyderabad and use the opportunity for discussing the Hyderabad question with him. His advice at this most critical juncture would be of the greatest value to you. Lord Mountbatten is a sincere well-wisher of Your Exalted Highness. Prudence dictates that advantage should be taken of his presence in India as the Governor-General to come to a friendly understanding with the Government of India. It is quite possible, as I explained to His Excellency, to arrive at a settlement satisfactory to both parties

The Governor-General has visited every important State in India barring Hyderabad. His visit cannot possibly do any harm but will, in all probability, do incalculable good.

I hope that Your Exalted Highness will be pleased to act upon my suggestion, whatever anybody might say, without any hesitation and without further loss of time. Many in India are bent upon reducing Hyderabad to the position of other States. Let us not play into their hands.

This That was my first letter ~~to the Nizam and with it~~ began a ~~marked~~ correspondence which went on until the bitter end. The Nizam

~~His Exalted Highness~~ asked for more particulars of my conversation with Lord Mountbatten, ~~at the same time telling me~~ but stated, quite frankly, that Hyderabad was not ready to give up its "historic position and entity".

In reply, I wrote ~~on~~ (May 3, 1948) telling him that my suggestion to Lord Mountbatten was that he should take the earliest opportunity of visiting Hyderabad and meeting the Nizam. I said that I had no doubt that his advice would be appreciated by ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam, knowing as he did that he was a good friend of ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam and of Hyderabad. His reply was that he would very much like to go to Hyderabad but there were difficulties in the way. He was doubtful if his Government would approve of his going there, lest it should be misconstrued by the public as an attempt at "appeasement". Furthermore, supposing ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam did not accept his advice, what then ? His position would become awkward. I gave appropriate answers to clear his doubts, and in the end he told me that he would see if he could possibly pay a visit. If ~~His Exalted Highness was pleased to invite~~ the Nizam invited him, his hands would be strengthened and he might be able to come without any difficulty. I need not stress the

supreme importance of a meeting between them, and the earlier the meeting took place the better.

His attitude towards the question of "accession" and "responsible government", as I explained the position to him, appeared to be quite reasonable, and if he could get his Government to agree, His Exalted Highness would have secured, in substance, what he had been insisting upon. Hyderabad could not be treated like other States, and it had to be given a special position in the Indian Union. He appreciated this point of view. I entirely agreed with His Exalted Highness that Hyderabad's historic position, as a separate entity, should be maintained and safeguarded. My proposals would, I was confident, ensure this, if we could get the Government of India to agree to them. This was where Lord Mountbatten's help was so necessary. His Exalted Highness replied stating that Lord Mountbatten had said "the same thing to us some time ago", when the Nizam invited him to visit Hyderabad before his departure from India in June. His Exalted Highness thought there was still "a chance of his coming here, provided some satisfactory settlement is brought about between Hyderabad and the Indian Union first".

I wrote to the Nizam, in reply, that in my view his visit was necessary in order to bring about a settlement. The Nizam renewed his invitation, but Lord Mountbatten was not able to accept. I continued -

I had sincerely hoped that Lord Mountbatten would be able to come in June. Personally, I think the sooner he can come the better for all concerned. I shall also write to him and urge him to visit Hyderabad as early as he can conveniently do so. Events are moving so fast in India that we must not allow any more time to be lost.

I wrote to the Governor-General, urging him to go to Hyderabad:

> The earlier the better. I am full of hopes that you will be able to solve this intricate problem in a manner satisfactory to all concerned once you meet the Nizam ..... Your Excellency must not leave India without the satisfaction of having disposed of this matter amicably. I am ready to do my humble best.

Lord Mountbatten's reply indicated that it was impossible for him to visit Hyderabad. The situation, as it stood, was that he had invited the Nizam to come to Delhi, and that he had refused and sent him a counter invitation to visit Hyderabad. Lord Mountbatten was afraid that there would be very little value in his going to Hyderabad. There could not be even remotely the same chances of a settlement being reached as there would be in Delhi. For if the Nizam were to go to Delhi, he would be able to obtain his Government's permission for each step he took towards meeting him, and the Nizam could meet the Prime Minister with him. If he was to go to Hyderabad, he would be unable, as constitutional Governor-General away from his Government, to depart from the brief he was given before departure. He had explained this to the Hyderabad Agent-General, Delhi, who saw the point. He asked me if I would be prepared to advise the

Nizam to change his mind and go to Delhi.

I replied that I wished the Nizam had invited him at once, as I had urged him to do, instead of waiting so long. If he had done so, Lord Mountbatten might not, perhaps, have been tempted to invite him and the present complication might not have arisen. For one could understand, and even appreciate, the Nizam's reluctance to accept the Governor-General's invitation. He would have lost heavily in prestige if he had gone to Delhi in response to his invitation (or summons as it would have been called), whereas the Governor-General's visit would have been regarded as something quite normal like his visiting so many other States. Moreover, (this was an important point) it would have been more politic, from the standpoint of the the Government of India, not to treat Hyderabad differently by deliberately avoiding a visit to it as if it was a foreign country with which the Governor-General had no concern.

It was very desirable and necessary that the Governor-General should meet the Nizam in ~~his own place~~ Hyderabad and give him, as only he could have done, a view of his mind and thus paved the way for a settlement. The settlement itself would, in all probability, have resulted from his talk, as I said in my last letter to Lord Mountbatten. Much as I was anxious that he and the Nizam should meet, I did not know how I could advise him to go to Delhi now. Nor could I presume to suggest to His Excellency to go to Hyderabad, although I still felt that even now it would be easier for him to go there than for the Nizam to come to Delhi.

"The Nizam has to be told firmly and in unequivocal terms, - and this is best done only by one of your personal prestige and official position - that he must turn over a new leaf, cease to be an autocrat and become a constitutional ruler, and get out of the clutches of the Ittehad and its Razakars in his own interests. I have tried to put this to him in plain terms and as tactfully as possible, but that is not sufficient. His is a curious mentality. Your Excellency could have explained the position in a more forceful and convincing manner and heard his views, and in this way, you would have, as I have said, <u>prepared</u> the ground for a settlement leaving the details to be settled by others. I do not think I need say more".

I wrote once again to the Nizam on the 20th May, 1948, and said that I was much concerned to hear that the relations between the Indian Union and Hyderabad had reached a breaking point, and that matters would come to a head unless a change in the attitude of Hyderabad took place before it was too late.

I did not know how far His Exalted Highness's advisers were keeping him fully informed of the latest developments both in the Indian Union and in Hyderabad. It was obvious to any discerning observer that, unless Hyderabad displayed a more friendly and cooperative attitude towards the Indian Government, strong action would be taken against her, the consequences of which would be very serious indeed, and I went on to say -

May I, therefore, implore Your Exalted Highness, in all earnestness, to come to a friendly understanding with the Union Government and avoid a clash. It is not too late even now to settle the differences with them in a manner both honourable and satisfactory to Hyderabad. It is a thousand pities that so many golden opportunities of placing Your Exalted Highness's

Dominion in a strong and secure position have been lost, and, instead, a serious situation has been allowed to develop threatening the very existence of the Dominion.

I am writing this letter in the discharge of what, I consider, to be a sacred duty, even at the risk of displeasing Your Exalted Highness, and in the hope that Your Exalted Highness will be pleased to give serious consideration to what I have said.

May God guide Your Exalted Highness aright at this fateful hour.

The Nizam
His Exalted Highness telegraphed saying that the subject was under the consideration and if necessary he might see me.

suggested that I might go to Delhi and see the Governor-General and the Prime Minister. He left this, however, entirely to my discretion.

I wrote assuring him that I would be only too happy to be of any use I could to him at such a critical time. "There is no denying the fact that a grave crisis had overtaken Hyderabad, and unless an agreement is concluded without further delay, Hyderabad will find itself in inextricable difficulties".

I said I was quite willing to proceed to New Delhi, but, before I did so, it was necessary that I should have a talk with the Nizam and his Prime Minister and I must also satisfy myself that the stand taken by Hyderabad was perfectly sound and reasonable.

I did not see why a satisfactory solution could not be found, assuming, of course, that both sides were prepared to make reasonable concessions to each other. Hyderabad had to maintain its own status, and there seemed no reason to suppose that the Government of India would refuse to recognise its special position, and show every possible consideration to it in this as in other matters. They would have much to gain if, like the British Government, they could claim the Nizam as their "Faithful Ally" and treat him as such.

I was anxious that the Nizam should see Mr. K.M. Munshi, the Agent-General of India, by himself. But the Nizam would not or could not do this. He saw him when it was too late, only after the debacle. Mr. Munshi who, I knew, was really anxious to help him, would have given him sound advice and tried to save him from his ignorant and foolish advisers.

Nor could the Nizam have had a better adviser or one more devoted to him and more anxious to promote his interests than Sir Walter Monckton, who had long been connected with the State as its Legal and Constitutional Adviser. His advice counted for nothing as against that of a briefless and worthless pleader.

Sir Walter never doubted that Hyderabad would have to be in some measure integrated with the Dominion which surrounds it, and he had hoped that he could reach an agreement upon some special form adapted to the peculiarities of Hyderabad. Moreover, he thought that in circumstances of the economic blockade, the terms which, with Lord Mountbatten's help, they persuaded the Indian Government to offer, though naturally not wholly satisfactory, were good enough to make it wise for the Nizam to accept them. But

him from achieving his aims
sinister influences prevented the results he aimed for.

The Nizam sent me a copy of Mr. R.A. Butler's statement in Parliament on Hyderabad on May 4, 1948. ~~With reference to this, I wrote~~ Replied:

I have seen Mr. Butler's reference to Hyderabad, as also Mr. Attlee's. In my opinion, the latter's comment is more helpful to Hyderabad. The views of British statesmen, however, do not possess the same value as before; they can be easily brushed aside by the Government of India. Such statements have only a limited value to us in present conditions, and we must not attach too much importance to them. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that we should strengthen our position in other ways. The support of your Hindu subjects should be secured first. This is the first essential, without it, it will be impossible to resist the demands of the Government of India with any hope of success.

I added, the Ittehad people should help in creating a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. We must win over the Hindus by offering them reasonably fair and attractive terms.

I went to Delhi on the 28th July, 1948. Meanwhile, Lord Mountbatten had left and a new Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, had taken his place. Mr. Rajagopalachari is one of our/ ablest political leaders, and a statesman widely respected for his independence of judgment and integrity of character. He, too, was most friendly and most anxious to help the Nizam. Before going to Delhi, I wrote to ~~His Exalted Highness~~ him --

I am afraid at present the position of Hyderabad is not what it was before. It has been considerably weakened by recent events. This is Your Exalted Highness's last chance. If we fail this time, Hyderabad will have to face an armed invasion with all its disastrous consequences. As far as I can foresee, Delhi will not go beyond the draft agreement recommended by both Lord Mountbatten and Monckton, and accepted by Hyderabad in most essentials.

On coming to know of my intended visit, Mr. Rajagopalachari ~~the Governor-General~~, very kindly sent a telegram asking me to stay with him at Government House. I was there for three days and then shifted to the Nizam's Palace.

I wrote to the Nizam on the 26th of July from Bangalore, a couple of days prior to my departure to Delhi --

I heard on the All-India Radio this morning that Hyderabad proposes to place its case before the United Nations at Lake Success. I do not know how much truth there is in this report. I hope there is none. It would do the greatest harm to Hyderabad, if any such move has been made or is proposed to be made. I would implore Your Exalted Highness, in all earnestness, not to approve of such a proposal, which I can only characterise as short-sighted and unwise in the extreme.

~~His Exalted Highness~~ The Nizam stated, in reply, that the matter was under consideration and "meant to be taken in hand when no more hopes remain of an honourable and satisfactory settlement".

This is what Mr. Laik Ali had to say on this point in his address to the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly --

We have weighed up every factor and come to the conclusion that in order to prevent the flow of human blood and loss of human life any step is worth taking .....

Hyderabad has decided to refer its case to the United Nations in

the hope that that body may be able to find a peaceful solution of the deadlock; and he made an announcement regarding the personnel of the Hyderabad delegation to the United Nations.

Reviewing "the four months of stress and strain", Mr. Laik Ali referred to India and said --

They may coerce us. They may subject us to any ordeals. They may overrun us by their military strength. We cannot give up our stand. We shall not give up our freedom. Hyderabad had emerged from many bitter trials more hopeful, more self-reliant, more confident and hardened, morally and materially stronger and better organised and look forward to the future with greater optimism than ever before.

Brave words these!

In the meanwhile, the Government of India's attitude had stiffened and they did not wish to enter into any negotiations unless the following conditions were fulfilled:-

(1) The Razakars were immediately and completely disbanded.

(2) Full responsible government was established.

(3) Complete peace was brought about, and

(4) the existing Cabinet was changed.

I telegraphed to the Nizam on the 29th July that the position was very serious and that it might even affect his dynasty. It was most important and urgent that Mir Laik Ali should fly to Delhi immediately as it was impossible for me to make any progress without his cooperation.

Mir Laik Ali would not come. Instead, he got the following statement broadcast over the Hyderabad Radio as an answer to my suggestions:-

Enquiries in official quarters reveal that Sir Mirza Ismail's recent visit to Delhi has no bearing on the political situation of Hyderabad. An official spokesman said that there is no truth in the reports published that Sir Mirza had gone to Delhi at the instance of His Exalted Highness for some particular purpose. It was quite possible that he may have gone there in a personal capacity. He added that the Prime Minister, Mir Laik Ali, would not proceed to Delhi unless he was assured of a settlement on honourable terms.

Small men in high places! The usual story, which inevitably spells disaster in the end.

I wrote to the Nizam expressing my keen disappointment and regret that he did not send Mir Laik Ali to Delhi. The only course then left to me was to send Zain Yar Jung to Hyderabad so that he could explain more fully than I could in a letter what the position is in Delhi.

I told the Nizam that it was not an easy task for me to get the Ministers in New Delhi to listen to what I had to say. Their patience, they said, was quite exhausted and they insisted on acting. I added that it would be a great mistake to think that any help could come to Hyderabad from Pakistan or from any other quarter, such as the United Nations.

I informed the Nizam of the conclusions that I had drawn from my talks in Delhi and which might be summarised as follows:--

The Government of India would insist on Hyderabad acceding to the Union immediately as other States had done. They did not wish to make any

distinction in favour of Hyderabad.

The Government of India had no confidence in the present Ministry and would insist upon a change.

The only way to prevent a catastrophe was the immediate acceptance of the Draft Agreement rejected by His Exalted Highness on the advice of his Council.

It would need much persuasion on my part to get the Government of India to keep the Draft Agreement open for acceptance. I could only say that I would do my best. If Mir Laik Ali had come with authority to sign the Agreement on behalf of His Exalted Highness, it would have helped a lot. The recent debate in Parliament had in no way strengthened Hyderabad's position. On the contrary, it had weakened it.

I concluded with these words -- I am sorry I am obliged to write in this strain. But I am anxious that Your Exalted Highness should be placed in full possession of the actual facts. It is for Your Exalted Highness now to accept or reject my advice. In the former case, I shall rejoice, for your position will remain intact and will even be strengthened, and the Dynasty will be perpetuated in all its glory; in the latter case, I can only grieve.

May Hazrath Amir and Imam Hussain, of both of whom Your Exalted Highness is such a sincere devotee, guide you, is my fervent prayer.

His Exalted Highness sent a telegram telling me that he was anxious to see me and asking me to go to Hyderabad. Mr. Munshi, whom I consulted, advised me to go. But I was not sure how the Ittehad people would behave and decided against going. I wrote to His Exalted Highness on 5th August, 1948:-

This letter is in continuation of my telegram of yesterday, reading as follows:

"I hope Your Exalted Highness will forgive me if I do not come to Hyderabad just now. I shall explain fully in letter reasons against my coming. I have come to this conclusion much against my keen desire to pay my respects to Your Exalted Highness solely in your own interests and in order to facilitate a settlement. I pray again for forgiveness."

As Zain Yar Jung will explain, the Ministers here, who have made definite statements in public, are saying that the Draft Agreement is not to be considered any longer; that it should be scrapped and that Hyderabad should accept the instrument of accession as other States have done.

I have told them that this was out of the question and the Draft Agreement once accepted by the Government of India should not be discarded, and if Your Exalted Highness, on reviewing the position, is now inclined to accept the Agreement, they should raise no objection but on the contrary should be pleased.

Zain Yar Jung and I had a long talk with Mr. V.P. Menon this morning. His view is that the Draft Agreement should no longer be considered. The only course is to accede. The Government of India are not prepared to deal with Hyderabad on any other basis. They think that Your Exalted Highness is quite powerless to deal with the Ittehad or even with the present Ministry which is doing what it likes regardless of your wishes. It is impossible for Your Exalted Highness, they say, to control the situation without external aid. Your own personal safety and the security of the State are involved and have to be safeguarded.

In these circumstances, my humble suggestion to Your Exalted Highness is that there should not be the least delay, on Your Exalted Highness's part, in signing the Agreement and confronting the Government of India with it. Let the responsibility for rejecting it be theirs. It is necessary that the announcement of the settlement should be made before the Assembly meets on the 9th. Therefore, I beg Your Exalted Highness most respectfully and most earnestly, to accept my suggestion and sign the Agreement. I assure Your Exalted Highness that it is, in the circumstances, quite a satisfactory one

from your point of view, as Mr. Attlee has stated in Parliament. I am most anxious that Your Exalted Highness should not miss this opportunity of coming to a settlement. Your position will become much more difficult and precarious if no such settlement is arrived at. I have absolutely no doubt about this, whatever Mir Laik Ali may say. I am sure he is quite wrong, and if he goes on pressing his points - almost all of which are really of no great importance, he will be doing the greatest disservice to Your Exalted Highness. I wish I could have explained all this to him in person. Your Exalted Highness will have to choose between his advice and mine. I claim to be a man of much greater experience in such matters, and I have also consulted several high-placed men here, and they all are unanimous in their view that the Agreement should be accepted and a disagreeable chapter closed without further delay.

I feel that Your Exalted Highness will find it easier if your decision is announced as your own deeply considered one. Let not the Ittehad say that I prevailed upon Your Exalted Highness to accept the Agreement. If I am not there, they will not be able to stage a demonstration against the decision, and they will accept it more quietly as an accomplished fact and as coming from yourself. I hope that Your Exalted Highness will appreciate this point of view, act, and act quickly. We cannot afford to lose any more time. I did not know that matters had gone so far in Hyderabad and even the personal safety of Your Exalted Highness was involved. We cannot afford to take any risks in such a matter.

I wrote also to Mir Laik Ali, warning him to settle the matter quickly and requesting him again to come to Delhi. But he did not even acknowledge my letter. His Exalted Highness wanted me to send him a copy of my letter, but I had not kept a copy. I wrote it as Nawab Zain Yar Jung was about to leave and handed it to him without keeping a copy.

I must say that His Exalted Highness the Nizam Throughout our correspondence, ~~I must say His Exalted Highness~~ never displayed the slightest sign of irritation, but on the contrary, he wrote to me uniformly kind letters, expressing appreciation of my efforts, and assuring me of his confidence. "No matter what ill-disposed people here may say against you", he wrote, reminded me of the Persian saying - 'The moon shines and the dogs bark.'

I wrote once more to ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam on the 17th August, 1948, and mentioned for ~~His Exalted Highness's~~ his information that I took care to make it perfectly clear to the authorities in New Delhi that, although I went there at ~~His Exalted Highness's~~ the Nizam's instance, I was not to be regarded as a representative of ~~His Exalted Highness~~ him come to negotiate with them on his behalf. I was no more his representative than that of the Government of India, I said. I also told them that I had received no instructions whatsoever from His Exalted Highness as to what I should say or not say to them. I was acting entirely in my individual capacity, and my only object in going to Delhi was to study the question on the spot and consult those who, I thought, were worth consulting, and then offer my suggestions to both parties. Accordingly, I offered my advice to His Exalted Highness for what it was worth. I also said what I had to say to the Government of India. I did not act as a mediator either, but as a friend of both, interested, as a citizen of India, in bringing them together and avoiding a clash. "I still adhere to the proposals I made to Your Exalted Highness after much consideration in my numerous letters and telegrams from New Delhi. How I wish they had been accepted and acted upon".

If I could have met Mir Laik Ali, I would have explained to him

my reasons for making those proposals. It was a matter of sincere regret to me that I had no opportunity of meeting either His Exalted Highness or the Prime Minister. I was anxious that ~~His Exalted Highness~~ the Nizam should meet Munshi. No harm could have resulted from seeing him but possibly much good. His Exalted Highness was not bound to say anything to him, but he would at least have heard what he had to say. I had no doubt that this would have created a friendly atmosphere and have had a good effect. After all, he was the accredited representative of the Government of India at ~~His Exalted Highness's~~ the Nizam's Court and was entitled to be seen by His Exalted Highness occasionally. ~~Though recently there was a hitch~~

So far as I was personally concerned, I did not regret having gone to Delhi. I could not be a mere spectator when His Exalted Highness was in the midst of a grave crisis. I felt I must do something, however little that might be.

I told the Ministers in New Delhi that I had not gone there to curry anybody's favour but simply in the discharge of what I considered to be a patriotic duty. ~~No selfish purpose took me there.~~ I was an independent man and was acting independently. ~~I must say that~~ everyone I talked to in Delhi from the Governor-General downwards was most courteous to me. I was more than pleased with the way I was received by them. I found the top men quite friendly to Hyderabad in spite of all that had happened. ~~I thought~~ Delhi's attitude was quite understandable. My "gila" was not with them but with Hyderabad for having turned down all my proposals. Although I failed in my mission, I had at least the satisfaction of feeling that I did what I could. It was better for one's peace of mind to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all.

It is most gracious of Your Exalted Highness to view my effort to serve you in such a kindly light. I have a feeling that I was not altogether unsuccessful, and that I did some useful work for Hyderabad. ? Date

I continue to feel very depressed and anxious about Hyderabad's future. The longer a peaceful settlement is delayed the more difficult Hyderabad's position will become.

Lastly, may I say that I have very regretfully come to the conclusion that it is no use my writing to Your Exalted Highness any more on this subject since you do not listen to me but prefer to be guided by people who have brought Hyderabad to the verge of destruction.

With my fervent prayers for Your Exalted Highness's happiness.

/I issued the following statement and left New Delhi - (8th August, 1948):

I feel I owe it to the country and to myself to explain what I have been endeavouring to do in New Delhi these past ten days, and what has happened. My position has been misconstrued in some quarters.

Being concerned about the steady deterioration in relations between India and Hyderabad, with its implicit risk of widespread strife, I considered that I would be lacking in patriotism if I did not use such influence as I have to seek to bring about a rapprochement between H.E.H. the Nizam and the Government of India, the more so as it seemed to me that the points of difference between them which had prevented the signing of the Draft Agreement of June 17 were quite trivial. Having, therefore, obtained the Nizam's

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Gila (Persian) - a friendly complaint.

authority for coming to Delhi and using my good offices in this matter, I ventured to go further and to offer my advice, not merely to the Nizam, but also to the Government of India.

Unfortunately, my efforts have been nullified by the influence of extremist elements in Hyderabad, more particularly by the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen members of the Council, who prevailed upon H.E.H. to reject my advice. I feel sure that, left to himself, the Nizam would have realised the unwisdom of continuing this strife strife with the Indian Union and would have come to terms with it.

In my view, all talk of Hyderabad "independence", in the internationally used sense of the term, is academic. Hyderabad has already agreed to hand over control of its Communications, Defence and Foreign Relations to the Indian Union, and therefore its "independence" must be restricted to internal autonomy. This last, I am sure, would not be challenged by those in authority in India and therefore there should be no hesitancy on the part of His Exalted Highness in signing the Draft Agreement. Discouraged as I am by the failure of my present mission, I remain convinced that India and Hyderabad can and must settle their differences amicably, and I appeal to my compatriots to work earnestly to this end. Patience and more patience will be needed on the part of the Government of India if this problem is to be solved as it must without bloodshed.

As Lord Mountbatten said, in London on June 29, 1948 - It was heart-breaking to Sir Walter Monckton and to himself that the proposals they jointly worked out were not accepted, and they were still hoping and praying that a peaceful solution would be found.

The following two letters were written after I returned to Bangalore from New Delhi ---

August 27, 1948.

Your Exalted Highness,

I received yesterday Your Exalted Highness's two letters, both dated the 23rd August.

I am very glad Your Exalted Highness put your foot down and did not allow our correspondence to be published.

I know the Ittehad people dislike me very much; they dread the possibility of my coming back as P.M. They want to prevent it by all means in their power. So, if Your Exalted Highness were to make it known to them and to Mir Laik Ali that I have no such desire and that Your Exalted Highness, too, has no such intention, they would feel more comfortable and, perhaps, less hostile to me.

I hope that Your Exalted Highness has by now come to see that I am deeply loyal to you, and, if I may presume to add, I have a real affection for Your Exalted Highness. You will believe me when I say that I have absolutely no idea of benefitting myself in any way. If I can render some service to you at this juncture, I shall feel more than happy. This is the feeling that prompted me to go to Delhi and try for a settlement. I shall be happy to do whatever I can for Your Exalted Highness. True service consists in working without any expectation of gain to oneself.

August 30, 1948.

Your Exd.

I have received Your Exalted Highness's gracious letter of the 25th. I had already posted my letter in reply to your two previous ones.

His Majesty has only said what one would have expected him to say. Neither he nor the British Government nor any one else can say any thing else, namely, that Hyderabad should come to terms with India. The Governor-General, too, is not likely to say anything very different. His Excellency I can assure Your Exalted Highness, is a true friend of yours, and most

anxious to help you. His advice is sure to be in the best interests of Your Exalted Highness. If Hyderabad goes on insisting on its own terms, no peaceful settlement is possible. This is what I have been saying all along. There must be some give and take on both sides, and Hyderabad must realize the weakness of its own position.

Mr. Menon told in Delhi, in the presence of Zain Yar Jung that, if Your Exalted Highness allowed the Indian troops to be sent back to Bolarum, the Government of India would not ask for accession or even an agreement.

It is a matter for Your Exalted Highness's consideration whether you should agree to this suggestion, subject to the following two conditions:-

(a) that the jurisdiction over the area is retained by the State, and
(b) that the troops would remain only for a strictly limited period, say a year, and would be withdrawn when normal conditions have been restored.

Your Exalted Highness could tell the Government of India that you are asking for the troops to be sent back solely as a proof of your desire to establish the friendliest possible relations with them, a desire which, you hope, will be fully reciprocated by them. You are anxious to remove all possible doubt from their minds about Hyderabad's attitude towards them.

Indian troops are still stationed in Bangalore. No body objects to their presence. In fact all welcome it. They increase the prosperity of the place, and socially, too, they are useful. Secunderabad and Bolarum, under British administration, were a different proposition.

Your Exalted Highness may remember that I took your permission, and not only spoke to Sir Claude Auchinleck, the Commander-in-Chief, but also wrote to him asking for the withdrawal of the troops from Bolarum. A copy of my letter must be in the office of the Hyderabad Prime Minister.

Circumstances were different then. When I was in Hyderabad, all was peace, though speeches used to be made occasionally by certain interested persons criticising me in unmeasured terms. This could have been easily stopped with Your Exalted Highness's support, and Hyderabad would have acquired a unique position in the country. That was my aim and endeavour, but the opportunity was unfortunately lost, through no fault of mine. However, all is not lost yet. It is still possible to retrieve the situation. May God enable Your Exalted Highness to do so.

I believe the Government of India would agree to refer to the arbitration of the Federal Court of India any dispute or difference between the parties arising out of the agreement. This seems reasonable.

As regards the stationing of troops in "an emergency", I do not think Hyderabad need make this a breaking point, so long as jurisdiction over the area is allowed to be retained by the State, as in Bangalore. Personally I do not think that this is really such an important matter from the point of view of either party, and I do not know why the Government of India attach so much importance to it. But since they do, Hyderabad need not be equally insistent in rejecting it.

I regret that it is impossible to explain more fully in writing my reasons for the various suggestions I have been making in my letters. But I hope that what I have tried to say in this letter may be of some help to Your Exalted Highness in coming to a decision.

I was in favour of both accession and an agreement. I thought that between a powerful party and weak one, it is safer for the latter to have an explicit agreement and not to leave things vague.

In reply to the Nizam's telegram requesting his help "to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement" between the two Governments, the Governor-General stated that he was all for a peaceful settlement and drew the attention of the Nizam "the state of insecurity and alarm that prevails",

and assuring him that "in any political solution, Your Exalted Highness's prestige and position will be safeguarded".

Letter from the Governor-General to the Nizam, dated August 31, 1948:

I thank Your Exalted Highness for your telegram acknowledging due receipt of His Majesty the King's letter sent by me from Bangalore. I write this after returning to Delhi. I need not assure you that I am entirely in favour of a peaceful settlement of all conflicts wherever they may arise. I have therefore been greatly distressed by the course of developments in Hyderabad and repeated failures of attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement. It is for my Government to deal with this, as well as other matters. But I would have no hesitation to do all in my power to help a peaceful settlement.

The most urgent phase of the problem as I see it and, as I know my Government see it, is the state of insecurity and alarm that prevails. That is the urgent issue. Allowing for exaggeration, there is no doubt that unrestrained activities of private armies, allowed to be armed with weapons and enjoying the support of official authorities created a state of terror for the vast majority of the people in Hyderabad and on the borders thereof. There has rapidly grown a feeling of utter insecurity among all classes of people and a demand for intervention by the Indian Union. It is morally impossible for the people of India to ignore the conditions prevailing in Hyderabad and affecting its people as well as endangering the peace of South India. It is not possible to allow the sense of terror and insecurity to continue. Distrubances of civil economy consequent on this movement of migrating people, breakdown of trade, commerce and communications that have followed with a necessary corollary of insecurity of life and honour and property are intolerable in view of the position of Hyderabad right in the centre of India.

It appears to me clear and it must be equally clear to Your Exalted Highness that to allow this to go on will spell ruin. It is important to remember in the confusing context of to-day that there is no conflict between the interests of the people of India and the people of Hyderabad. In the present as well as in the future the interests of all concerned are common, and the Government of India have repeatedly given assurances that in any political solution Your Exalted Highness' prestige and position will be safeguarded. I would request Your Exalted Highness to ponder over the situation and to do something courageous and wise to terminate the present state of alarm and insecurity and to restore full confidence and normal conditions of life and business. There is no loss of dignity involved in doing what the happiness and the people demands.

In order effectively to terminate the state of alarm which has made public opinion so clamorous for armed intervention and to restore general confidence I would endorse the suggestion reported to have been made for this purpose by Sir Mirza Ismail, who came here on Your Exalted Highness's encouragement and on your behalf. He is a statesman of wide experience and balanced judgment, with intimate knowledge of affairs relating to Hyderabad, and, what is more, he is as concerned in the welfare of Your Exalted Highness as in the welfare of the people of this land including Hyderabad. Your Exalted Highness should ban Razakars, and, as Sir Mirza Ismail advised, invite the re-posting of adequate military forces of the Government of India in Secunderabad so that there should be no doubt in the public mind in Hyderabad and outside as to the security of person and property and the basis for friendship may be laid. This should be entirely on Your Exalted Highness' own initiative. I see no other effective way of restoring security and confidence. The steps which you have recently taken serve only to add to the irritation of previous dilatory procedure, without bringing in substantial good. What is required is speedy decision and friendly trust, and not controversy and delay.

This letter is purely personal and from one whom it has pleased Your Exalted Highness to trust as a true friend. The happiness of our people is within easy reach. May God guide us both.

A more friendly and conciliatory letter could not have been written in the circumstances.

The Nizam in his reply, contradicting the statement of the Governor-General that there was any insecurity in ~~the State,~~ -- Hyderabad

I have received Your Excellency's letter dated 31st August, one copy through my Agent-General at Delhi and two more copies and one advance telegraphic copy through your Agent-General at Hyderabad.

It appears from your letter that a very wrong impression of insecurity of life, honour and property in Hyderabad prevails at your end. I presume it is the result of persistent false propaganda of certain parties and persons with the objects other than agreement between the Indian Union and Hyderabad. The situation at the borders will immediately and materially improve if border raids are prevented from the adjoining provinces. You refer also to Sir Mirza Ismail's suggestion which he made during his recent visit to Delhi. Sir Mirza Ismail, though my old friend, is really not properly acquainted with the intrinsic problems of Hyderabad, because he remained here hardly a year, unlike his predecessors. Further, he is unaware of the subsequent developments and therefore action on his suggestion is obviously impracticable.

Regarding other points please let me state that the matter of Indian troops to remain in my territory is out of the question. My own troops are able to satisfactorily safeguard life and property of my own subjects and are fully capable of dealing with the situation.

Regarding your suggestion of taking over the political situation entirely in my own hands, keeping the Government aside. I am afraid under the changed conditions it is not possible for me to bear the entire responsibility without my Government sharing it. This very reply in substance I had communicated to your predecessor last June. I am really anxious to arrive at an honourable settlement and shall greatly appreciate your valued contribution towards solving the present deadlock by ensuring peace both in Hyderabad and in the surrounding provinces of the Indian Union. I do hope you will give this matter your further serious consideration and make an early settlement possible.

It was obvious that the Nizam was more or less a prisoner in his palace, and unable to act independently. I felt that the only way of getting him out of the clutches of Razvi and his satellites, who included the Ministers themselves, was to get the Indian troops back in Secunderabad. But the Nizam would not, or more probably could not ask for them. The Nizam ~~United Highness~~ was put out when I made this suggestion and expressed surprise that I should ask him to look to the Indian army, not his own, for protection, as if he could not rely upon them. My answer was - "Alas, that was only too true!"

In a heterogeneous country like India, with its diverse castes and creeds and races, safety lies in a judicious "mixture" of all the elements - whether in the army, the police, in the Civil or Judicial services, in the municipalities, in the Legislature or in the Cabinet - no particular caste or community or region being allowed to have too preponderant a representation or influence. That way lies both safety and contentment - a rare instance of justice and expediency going together. It was for this reason that I wanted to dilute the Hyderabad army, which was composed entirely of Muslims, with at least 25 per cent of Hindus. So also the Police force, with British officers at the head of both.

2

If this had been done, the Muslim oligarchy would not have lost their heads and run amok as they did.

I felt deeply for the Nizam. I could clearly perceive that it was too much to expect him to shake off his shackles, get rid of his evil advisers and act boldly and independently of his Government. He was too much in their grip and did not dare act except in accordance with the behests of Kasim Razvi and his friends.

There lived in Hyderabad, the former Nizam's trusted adviser, Sir Amin Jung, who was for some time the present Nizam's adviser also. But he had retired a good many years before the debacle and led a quiet life deeply immersed in his studies (he had one of the best private libraries in India) - until his death in 1949 at the age of 89. "You and I", he wrote in 1949, "are at present unable to say or do anything for Hyderabad except perhaps to sit in a corner and weep silently. You foresaw all the present complications when you advised accession without much ado. May God save India from a civil war between Hindus and Muslims - that is the prayer of an old man who does not expect to live to see the end of the present complications".

Pakistan could have influenced these people and could have saved the Nizam, but she failed to do this. An unequivocal statement from that quarter would have disabused the minds of the Ittehad who were building hopes on the support of Pakistan, not realizing that Pakistan was not going to be guilty of such a grave error.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was good enough to tell me that I had "played a noble part and it will go down in history." He even advised the Nizam to be guided by my advice. The Governor-General did his utmost to get His Exalted Highness to take the right course. The Nizam could not have had a more genuine friend and well-wisher than Mr. Rajagopalachari, be it said to his credit. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, too, was well-disposed towards him in spite of his well-known aversion for the Princely Order. They were both anxious to act fairly and justly by the Nizam, but unfortunately for himself, he gave them no chance. Even the last letter of the Governor-General to His Exalted Highness earnestly requesting him to accept his advice had no effect.

His Excellency's reply dated September 10, 1948 was as follows:-

I thank you for Your Exalted Highness's telegram dated September 9 in which you have again asked me to do what I can to create an atmosphere of better understanding in which you and I may be able to make a personal contribution in serving the interests of the people of India and Hyderabad. In my letter dated August 31, I pointed out to Your Exalted Highness that the most urgent phase of the problem, as I saw it, was the prevailing state of insecurity and alarm. I have implored Your Exalted Highness, to do the right thing on your own initiative; more specifically, I suggested that you should ban the Razakars and invite the re-posting of adequate military forces of the Government of India at Secunderabad, so that there should be no doubt left in the public mind in Hyderabad and outside as to the security of person and property, and the basis of friendship might thus be laid. I added that I saw no other effective way of restoring security and confidence. You seem to interpret this as advice given to Your Exalted Highness to over-rule your Government. My

point has been wholly missed by Your Exalted Highness.

In your reply of September 5, besides denying that there was any insecurity of life, honour and property in Hyderabad, you added that the matter of allowing our troops to be stationed in your territory was out of the question.

Unless Your Exalted Highness is prepared to act on the suggestion that I made in my letter of August 31, it is impossible for me to see how I can help Your Exalted Highness to achieve the purposes that you say you have in view. I feel strongly and, therefore, repeat that the issue of public confidence and sense of security is the immediate question to be tackled and I have no doubt what I have suggested is the only effective solution, and I am grieved Your Exalted Highness has been advised to reject my considered advice. It would not in the least affect other issues if Your Exalted Highness invited the re-stationing of our troops as a guarantee of peace and a demonstration of the determination to settle matters amicably. On the other hand, if Your Exalted Highness force the Government of India to act on their initiative in this respect, it is bound to affect other issues and in a grave manner.

This was in reply to the Nizam's telegram which was as follows:-

In continuation of my telegram to you dated September 5, once more, I ask Your Excellency to make use of your good offices with your Government to accommodate Hyderabad's viewpoint, as indicated in last June's discussions, and to create an atmosphere of better understanding, in which you and I may be able to make a personal contribution to the extent that lies in our power in serving the interests of the people of our respective countries. I sincerely trust that you will give your earnest attention to my request and thereby avoid serious and unpleasant developments of any kind in our relationship.

The Indian troops marched in and Hyderabad quietly surrendered on September 18, 1948, after only four days fighting, if fighting it could be called. What surprised me was that the military authorities in India should have thought it necessary to mobilise a complete division with one hundred and fifty tanks and armoured cars, reports said, against comparatively small and ill-equipped and ill-trained force.

Thus ended a ~~ludicrous~~ tragedy, ~~in some aspect~~ ludicrous

A story has long been in circulation in Hyderabad how the first Nizam of ~~Hyderabad~~, ~~Mir~~ Qulich went to a faqir in Aurangabad and asked for his blessing. The faqir ~~of the story was~~, gave him a few Koolichas (a kind of bread), and when he asked for more, he complied but told him that seven were all that he could have. From that time the belief was prevalent in Hyderabad that the ~~Nizam's~~ rule would terminate with the seventh Nizam and this is what has actually happened.

The Hyderabad Muslims ~~are, therefore, entitled~~ to derive what comfort ~~they can~~ from this story: ~~that~~ more pawns in the hands of Destiny, their fate having been determined for them two centuries ago.

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CHAPTER VIII.

J A I P U R.

I spent four pleasant and interesting years from 1942-1946 as the Prime Minister of Jaipur under a most enlightened ruler who, true to his promise, supported me through thick and thin. What I liked most in Jaipur was freedom from intrigue. His Highness would not allow intrigue of any kind to raise its ugly head where he was concerned. He formed his own judgment uninfluenced by what others said or did, and acted upon it.

Let me here give A striking instance of his independence of judgment. Towards the close of my term of office, three of my four colleagues on the Executive Council became so tired of me and my ways that they all went to His Highness one day and complained to him that I was acting in a dictatorial manner. His Highness asked them if they had any objection to his mentioning this to me, as he thought it was only fair that he should know what I had to say in answer to their charge. When His Highness spoke to me, I could conscientiously deny the accusation and His Highness seemed to be quite satisfied with it. I obtained His Highness's permission to speak to my colleagues, which I did at a Council meeting when we were all together. My colleagues must have been surprised to see me more amused than annoyed at their action. I said to them that they were really unkind and unfair to me, for no Prime Minister could possibly have treated his colleagues with greater deference or taken them more fully into his confidence than I invariably did. It all ended happily.

I must relate An extraordinary incident that took place in my time and which illustrates one of the difficulties of an administrator. When the Political Agent was going round the School of Art, he was assaulted and injured by a disgruntled teacher who mistook him for the head of the Education Department who was also a European and against whom he had a grievance. The wound was fortunately a superficial one and it healed up in a few days. The Political Agent appears to have suspected that I had something to do with the attack. The teacher was a Muslim but I was not even aware of his existence. The Head of the Medical Department, who was a retired British officer, also blamed me and told me that such a thing had happened only because of the encouragement that turbulent elements were getting in the State unlike In the previous regime, when a strong Prime Minister knew how to keep such roughs in their proper place and uphold the authority of the administration. This view fully shared by the head of the Police Department, another retired official of the Government of India. The man was, in due course, brought to trial and was sentenced by the High Court to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. This did not, however, satisfy the Political Agent, and he seemed to have even suspected that I had brought my influence to bear on the Judges of the High Court and got them to pass, what he felt, was too light a sentence on the accused. He went to the length of sending a copy of the judgment to New Delhi for being

scrutinised by the Law Department of the Government of India in order to see if there were any flaws in it. I spoke to the Chief Justice, Sir Sarat Ghose, I.C.S. (retd), formerly a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and I asked him to see the Political Agent and assure him that I had not exchanged a word with him about the case. The Political Agent listened and kept quiet - apparently not satisfied even with the Chief Justice's assurance. I did not care to talk to him myself, but I sent to the Political Secretary in New Delhi, for his information, a copy of a speech delivered, on June 5, 1940 - I was still the Dewan of Mysore then - by Chief Justice Sir D'Arcy Reilly, in course of which he said:

> Never have the Government by word or hint or deed interfere in the slightest degree with our judicial work. Never during the six years I have been here, whatever annoyance the Government may have felt with our proceedings, has even by the flicker of an eyelid any hint of such feeling been given. The relations of the Government and the High Court have always been strictly correct.

In acknowledging the letter, the Political Secretary wrote in reply that he had shown my letter and the enclosure to Sir Francis Wylie (the Political Adviser) and they both appreciated the reasons for which I had sent the letter and enclosure to them. I heard nothing more of the incident.

In the latter part of 1943, the Government of India, rather I should say, the Viceroy, wrote to the Maharaja through the Political Agent, objecting to the use of the word of command, "Royal Salute" on ceremonial occasions. Replying to the letter on behalf of the Maharaja, I said, wrote that I need not conceal from the Political Agent the fact that His Highness had been deeply wounded by that communication. It was desired that he should give up a custom that had been honoured followed by the State for generations, and I thought that possibly it had not been quite realised how his position in the eyes of his people, and in particular, of his troops, would be affected.

The objection was raised on the ground that the use of the expression would be an encroachment on the prerogative of the King-Emperor. The Maharaja's representation was that a privilege long enjoyed and valued might remain. The request of the Maharaja was rejected. His Highness accepted the decision and said that he presumed that it was applicable equally to all States. But the matter was not pursued further and was, I believe, allowed to lapse. Sir Francis Wylie had, in the meanwhile, resumed charge of the office of Political Adviser and he knew what importance to attach to matters of this sort.

Lord and Lady Wavell paid a visit to Jaipur in 1946, and received a right royal welcome from the citizens. When his predecessor visited Jaipur only a few years before, he had to be taken through deserted streets. I arranged to take Their Excellencies through the most crowded parts of the City in procession. The Inspector-General of Police was

in despair. He was dead against such a risky adventure. But I had no doubt that the public would extend a hearty welcome to the Viceroy and would be very happy to see him. I had spoken to the Praja Mandal (Congress) leaders and others and had received every assurance from them of whole-hearted cooperation. In the first car, sat ~~His Excellency~~ the Viceroy, ~~His Highness~~ H.H. Maharaja and myself, followed by Her Excellency's and other cars. It was indeed a grand ~~spectacle~~ to see the public thronging round the Viceregal car and showering flowers on the Viceroy. It took us nearly three hours to finish the drive. When it was all over, the Police Chief heaved a sigh of relief. A leading member of the Congress party wrote congratulating me on the successful termination of the Viceregal visit:

> I do not think (he wrote) that in the year 1946 such a grand reception could be given to a British Viceroy in any other part of India. It is no flattery if I say that it was very difficult, if not impossible, for any person other than yourself to have managed everything so tactfully in these turbulent days, when ~~the~~ anti-British feeling is running so high. The Viceroy must have left Jaipur fully satisfied.

I accompanied ~~His Excellency~~ the Viceregal party up to the State boundary. The villagers en route had ~~got~~ tea and refreshments ready for Their Excellencies and ~~they~~ were anxious that they should accept their humble invitation ~~and~~. I am glad to say they did. This was something out of the ordinary, quite hazardous as some would say, but again I knew I was running no risk whatsoever.

In a note ~~which I once presented~~ sent to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, ~~I said among other things~~ soon after his arrival in New Delhi I wrote

> I have come to offer Your Excellency the most sincere wishes for happiness and success in the office of Viceroy of India. I have faith that the complex difficulties of the time will be resolved, and unity and well-being brought to the country during your viceroyalty, as a result of those qualities of vision, sympathy and candour to which the whole country instinctively responds.
>
> I should like to take the opportunity of referring to a matter of some importance.
>
> There is the question of employing His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur on duty at the front. He is a soldier not only by tradition but by the strongest personal inclination: I can remember how determined he was, in 1926 when I first knew him, to go to England for military training He has the feeling too that, in this decisive struggle, the place for the soldier ruler of this Rajput State is as near the fighting front as may be He brought me to Jaipur, indeed, with the idea that my presence here would make it easier for him to go to the war. By a strange irony, the opposite has been the consequence. Yet the State is not merely progressing in every way, but enjoys complete tranquility. His Highness could, and would, leave it for military service with complete confidence. - Personally I am longing for the day when the affairs of Jaipur will be subject to Your Excellency's direct observation: or indeed to the personal scrutiny of the Political Adviser. .....

Somehow, the Political Department felt very uneasy about Jaipur and did not ~~always~~ approve of my activities. Their ideas of administering States were somewhat different from mine. They wanted things to go on as usual, no progress and no fuss of any sort, ~~which generally accompanies the former~~. They thought that I was spending too much money and making too

many changes. I had made my own position quite clear to the Maharaja from the beginning: I had not gone there just to maintain law and order and leave alone everything else that really mattered. Either I must be allowed to carry out my policy and do what I believed to be in the best interests of both the State and the Ruler or I must be permitted to go home. His Highness, ~~I must say,~~ rose to the occasion and displayed considerable courage in supporting me. The Viceroy wrote to him in reply to his earnest request to be allowed to go to the front on military duty, ~~always a passionate desire with him~~, that it might be possible to employ him for a time on military duty outside the State only when "certain matters" had been safely decided. It was obviously an indictment of my management. The Maharaja wrote to His Excellency assuring him that he had given his personal attention to all those matters and was satisfied that there was really nothing to cause concern, except of course, the question of food supply, which was a problem common to almost every part of India.

His Highness referred to the advice given to him by the Political Department to postpone expenditure upon all public works except those of an inescapable character in the city of Jaipur, and he assured the Viceroy that no new work would be undertaken unless it was absolutely essential and could not be postponed. His Highness expressed his belief that when the proposed constitutional reforms were introduced and municipalities and village panchayets were established, as was proposed, a great and welcome change in the outlook of the people generally, whether Thakurs or others, would take place. Moreover, the comprehensive scheme of reconstruction which was being prepared would give new and ample opportunity to all classes, both of employment and public service. It was then to be expected that there would be a healthy diversion of energy from petty personal considerations to activity for the public good. The added that the

~~His Excellency was assured that the~~ Maharaja was in close touch with all that was going on in the State and his Ministers had constant access to him. It gratified him to observe the distinct improvement in the administration that was taking place almost from day to day. Much, of course, remained to be done to make it completely efficient but we were doing our best.

> I would add (His Highness went on to say) that while I have the keenest personal desire to get to the front again, and play a more active part than is possible here, I well realize how important is the effort towards victory that can be made at home. Neither in men nor in any sort of contribution shall we be found to fall short. No State understands better than Jaipur that the single duty of working, in all ways, for speedy victory requires all our energies and resources. While, like the Government of India and the Army itself, we have also been looking beyond victory and endeavouring to prepare for the future, we well know that the immediate demands of war are paramount and shall allow no others to compete with them. Nor is this a mere matter of duty to us.

Whatever differences of opinion might have arisen, between me and the Political Department - I confess I did give them trouble of at some times

there was this to be said for the Political Department and its officers: that they were gentlemen and they behaved as such. They were never vindictive; wary, of course, and slow to trust, they displayed no rancour, and took no revenge, even when such an exhibition of feeling would have been justifiable. It gives me genuine pleasure to state that in my official dealings with British officials generally, I came to entertain high respect for their character, qualities. The British are a slow-moving, over-cautious and conservative people, but they are by nature fair-minded, and just, and not easily carried away by emotion. And they make excellent rulers of other races, as history records.

The rapidity with which the improvements were going on in the City which excited the admiration of the Special Correspondent of the New York Times, when he visited Jaipur and sent a glowing account of them to his paper, alarmed the Political Department, which thought that far too much public money was being spent upon the improvement of the City at a time when every pie should be saved and invested in Government of India securities. The Viceroy himself wrote to His Highness and advised him to go slow. I was, of course, the culprit they had in mind. I explained to the Political Department that I was not wasting public money. I was, in fact, making the best possible use of it. I was feeding starving mouths and at the same time cleaning the City which was in a most deplorable condition. I agreed to go as slow as possible - but I went on, all the same, with my plans, only a little more slowly and cautiously.

I quote here a few sentences from the despatches of its correspondent, Mr. Herbert L. Matthews to the New York Times dated the 9th and 14th October, 1942, respectively --

> Three days here, during which your correspondent has talked with all classes of residents, have convinced him that there is powerful sympathy with the Congress party's general program, even though it does not take violent form. Jaipur thanks its Premier for its calm and wonders why the authorities elsewhere do not act as he does. Sir Mirza says to students, workers and agitators:
>
> "Go ahead and demonstrate, strike and parade to your heart's content. I shall not stop you as long as you really remain non-violent according to the Congress program. There will be no repression and no terrorism in Jaipur".
>
> As a result there has been no rioting or sabotage here. The police and troops have made no lathi charges, nor have they fired into crowds. There is no bitterness on the part of the people towards the authorities.
>
> ---
>
> When the stream of American tourists flows back to this famed "Pink City" after the war, they are going to find it more thoroughly transformed and improved than New York after Robert Moses got through with it. .....
>
> Unemployment is a thing of the past. Workers who earned three annas (six cents) daily now are getting very high wages of six to eight annas. Reconstruction, new parks, new buildings, restorations and improvements of all kinds are now going on at an amazing pace for India. The city swarms with workers as busy as bees. .....
>
> "For every tree I cut down I will plant a hundred," said Premier Ismail when he was driving me around the city to see the improvements. "When I tear down a man's house I want him to leave it smiling and knowing that he is going to a new and better one." .....

In Jaipur one finds less of a tendency to blame the British for everything that is wrong with India, but there is no lack of criticism here, either. That is why it was interesting to find in Sir Mirza one of the rare Indians who want the British to stay and collaborate on a footing of equality in the future process of freeing the country. He wants Indianisation of the government, but, for the present, with responsibility to the Viceroy. In his opinion, the present difficulties could be settled by appointing a wholly Indian government of four Congress party men and four Moslem Leaguers, three representatives of the States, one Sikh or Parsee or Christian, while leaving military defence in the hands of the British. After the war the British would remain as technical advisers in business and military fields. He, like virtually all Indians one meets, however highly placed, feels that something must be done soon. He thinks that the situation is getting progressively worse.

Jaipur was, before the war, one of the most popular touring centres for visitors in India. As many as 10,000 tourists came to the City from Europe, America and elsewhere. A first class modern hotel is a great desideratum in Jaipur, and also a cheaper but up-to-date hotel for those living in Indian style. I had hoped to put both these projects through as joint stock enterprises with Government participating in them. But time was not sufficient and I had to leave without accomplishing my object.

A charge of extravagance was brought against me - it was nothing new in my experience - although I added over three crores of rupees to the accumulated savings of the State during the four years I was there. I confessed that I was not at all proud of this achievement. Any one can go on stinting and saving money, but it requires some sense to spend money wisely and well. And money is meant to be spent reproductively, and is not meant to be hoarded. If I had not constructed the new offices and new bungalows and done so many other things for Jaipur, it would probably not have been chosen as the capital of Rajasthan. Those buildings would cost three to four times as much now. I challenge my critics, whether in Mysore or Jaipur, to point out a single building that was put up in my time and which they now think should not have been erected. So also with regard to other works that I undertook. The Brindavan Hotel and Gardens at Mysore, for instance, contributed a sum of Rs.60,000/- last year to the coffers of the Government. Such amenities have more than paid for themselves even from the purely commercial point of view. And yet there were people who used to find fault with me for spending public money recklessly, as they thought. I never believed in saving money and allowing people's crying needs remain unsatisfied.

Jaipur City can boast of some of the most attractive buildings in India. The gateways, particularly, are masterpieces of Indo-Saracenic architecture. The one at Amber, Ferguson characterised as the noblest in the world. The fountains in the Madho Vilas Gardens which I rescued from utter ruin have wonderful artistic beauty. The ingenuity displayed in those good old days to supply water to them from an ordinary well is most interesting. And there is a unique kind of swimming "pool" - if it can be so called - where the bathers chase one another through channels. When I visited Jaipur a couple of years ago it was heart-rending to see, what should have been one of the most beautiful parks in India and the fountains,

sadly neglected, and fast relapsing to their former state. The City and the parks, too, presented a neglected appearance. I do not know why Indian administrators attach so little value to such things which do matter in life.

Mr. Cecil Beaton, the well-known photographer and artist, visited Jaipur on the invitation of the Maharaja. Driving along one day with me to the famous Amber Palace, he noticed some what must have been beautiful buildings once in a dilapidated condition, and remarked to me that it was a pity to leave them in that state and why I had not thought of repairing them. I suggested he should speak to the Maharaja. I said I had been trying to get him to let me do this but had not succeeded so far. He spoke to the Maharaja and obtained the necessary permission. The Maharaja was hesitating because he was afraid the public might criticise us for spending public money on such things.

The well-known Society Journal, "Vogue" published a very interesting account of Jaipur City from the pen of Mr. Beaton. I quote a few sentences --

> With its vast open squares and pleasure gardens and every building painted the uniform terracotta paint, the City is so well-planned and spacious and its colours so harmonious that the general effect is of an almost somnambulant leisure and serenity. Nowhere else in the world have I seen such brilliant and robust colours used to produce an effect so refined and subtle.
>
> Sir Mirza is the arch enemy of corrugated iron sheets, brass bands (Indian) and of almost everything else that is crude and vulgar ..... The money he spends is put into circulation and is used as a means of getting rid of unhygienic conditions and sources of disease.
>
> Already the metamorphoses he has achieved in a short time are incredible, but his plans are as countless as his inspirations.
>
> The legacy of this wonderful City has fallen into safe hands. The Maharaja of Jaipur is a young man with a proud appreciation of the beauties of his State and a keen interest in building anew.

Not less eloquent was the American editor. Mr. James S. Pope who, writing in his paper, Louisville Courier, referred to "this municipal revolution" in Jaipur and said --

> Sir Mirza was for many years Prime Minister of the State of Mysore, which he converted into the most progressive segment of India far beyond the works of any of the provinces of what we usually consider the enlightened and representative part of the country, British India. When he had the chance, the Maharajah of Jaipur was smart enough to snaffle Sir Mirza .....
>
> His Highness took keen interest in the improvement of his City which he loved and felt proud of. He certainly has excellent taste. It is a pity he cannot do this now under the new constitution.

The Maharaja is a born soldier and soldiering is almost a passion with him. He served in the Life Guards as an officer and he still holds an officer's rank in that famous Regiment, an honour which he prizes highly. In the last war he was prepared to undergo any amount of hardship and even to risk his life so long as he was given a chance of serving in the field. He is a first class polo player with a handicap of nine. He possesses the best polo ground in India. A keen polo player he has met with serious

accidents, which nearly cost him his life, but he still plays - and plays as boldly and magnificently as ever.

The Maharaja is the Rajapramukh of Rajasthan, as the Princes who are placed at the head of their States or a group of States, as in the case of Rajasthan ~~are now designa~~. They are purely constitutional heads exercising no more power than the Governors who ~~themselves exercise limited power~~.

His Highness was good enough to name one of the most important roads after me, and he signified his pleasure in these words --

> I would like to name a road after you, if you will agree, as I feel Jaipur owes so much to you already for all the improvements you are making and although your name will be associated in other connections in time to come, but the town improvement is already widely known and associated with you. I should like to call the road starting near Barwara House passing the Secretariat and all the gates of the City up to the Ghat Gate after your name.

I originally took up the Jaipur post for only one year. Later, I accepted two years' extension and then again one more year, thus spending in all four years in that beautiful State under a very kind and appreciative Ruler.

> I can't tell you [he wrote] to me at the end of my first term how happy I am that you have accepted my invitation to stay on as my Prime Minister for another two years.
>
> You have earned my implicit confidence and you may rest assured that you will always have my fullest support. No other Prime Minister in Jaipur has done so much to improve the tone of the administration and to inspire so much confidence in the hearts of the public. It is a great pleasure to me to watch you working so whole-heartedly for the betterment of my people and the welfare of my State.

It was not easy for me to resist him. He kept me as long as he could. If he had his way, my stay in Jaipur could easily have been longer. Nor was such feeling absent in other minds.

I was wondered why Mahatma Gandhi had not written to me on hearing of my appointment in Jaipur. I happened to write to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, on whose friendly interest I could always rely. I ~~said in my letter to~~ wrote her that I had gone to Jaipur in the hope of doing some good, not only to Jaipur but, through Jaipur, to the whole of Rajputana. This seems to have appealed to Mahatma Gandhi and he ~~was good enough to write~~ sent me a very kind letter.

> I was halting (he wrote) between two opinions - whether to condole with you or congratulate you on your acceptance of the Jaipur Dewanship. I had pictured for you a position on a wider field where you could have made an effective contribution to communal unity. But your letter to Rajkumari which she has sent me enables me to come to a decision. Though the field is narrow, you will render a great service, if you succeed in helping the emancipation of the people of Rajputana.

In ~~writing about~~ this chapter my life in Jaipur, I must not omit to mention Mr. G.D. Birla, whom I had known ~~before I went there~~ long and who throughout my stay in Jaipur, kept in close touch with me and gave me much valuable advice and support.

Happening

He happened to visit Bangalore some years before I went to Jaipur, or had the remotest idea of ever going there. He told me how the Government of Jaipur were refusing to sanction his request to raise the Intermediate College at Pilani, a small town in an arid tract, 100 miles from Jaipur, to the status of a degree college, although this would not cost them a pie. I expressed surprise at their attitude, little imagining that it would one day fall to me to do this. Soon after I went to Jaipur, the necessary permission was given and the Intermediate College became a full-fledged degree college. Since then the Birlas have been spending money lavishly on educational institutions at Pilani and have established a Science and an Engineering College, in addition to the Arts College. Pilani has thus become an important educational centre, maintained entirely by the munificence of the Birla Brothers. Mr. G.D. Birla was ever ready to help me to establish any new industry I wanted in Jaipur. Being a Jaipurean himself, he did not mind venturing even on a hazardous enterprise, if he felt that it was likely to promote the interests of Jaipur.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India and Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, paid a private visit to Pilani and stayed there for a day or two as the guests of Mr. Birla. This was before my time. They were called upon to explain why they went there without the previous permission of the Jaipur Government The Birlas were very much in the bad books of the Political Department. They were regarded as patrons of the Prajamandal, the local Congress organization. It was prohibited from calling itself Congress.

Mr. Birla and some others deliberately avoided even passing through Jaipur City by rail for fear of being molested by the customs authorities. I felt that such a state of affairs should not be allowed to continue any longer. I obtained His Highness's permission to invite Mr. G.D. Birla and Sir Badridas Goenka - a prominent business man of Calcutta, also a Jaipurian - to visit the capital. They came and were cordially received by His Highness. In this way began once more their close association with their own State.

Sites were allotted to a few prominent Jaipureans like the Birlas, Podars, Goenkas and others in a new area adjoining the Palace grounds, which had been laid out as an extension of the City. I was hoping that these rich people would build their mansions and help to embellish the City and increase its prosperity and importance. Some were insisting that I should promise to stay on if I wanted them to incur the heavy expenditure. I am not aware if any progress has since been made in that direction, or whether the sites are still clamouring to be built upon.

It is interesting to note how many successful business men in British India hail from Jaipur - the Birlas, Podars, Dalmias, Singhanias, Goenkas, Bajajs, Saksarias and Jaipurias, and several others.

Within a few months of my arrival in Jaipur and before the end of

I went to Patna for a University function, I happened to visit the American Jesuit Mission School and Hostel. I had heard much in praise of it. I was so deeply impressed with both these institutions that I at once thought I should do my utmost to get a similar school established in Jaipur. This I was able to do - within a year. An excellent site was granted free by the Government. The Mission did not lose time in starting their building operations. When I visited Jaipur for the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of His Highness in 1947 I was delighted to see the School and other buildings coming up rapidly. There was at first some opposition to the proposal to give such a valuable site free to the Mission, but my recommendation was eventually accepted, and, as I had anticipated, the institution has become popular and will, in due time, I have no doubt, become the most flourishing public school in all Rajputana. How many schools in India can boast of a dozen first class American educationists on their teaching staff ? The Mission itself has spent quite a considerable sum - some lakhs, I believe - on the buildings, apart from shouldering the recurring cost of running so large an institution.

I came in close touch with the educational work of the Church of Scotland Mission in Jaipur. From the very beginning, in the days of the East India Company, it has been recognised that private effort is absolutely indispensable to the progress of Indian education on modern lines. And from the beginning, as has been pointed out by Dr. William Meston, an illustrious Principal of the Madras Christian College, whose book on "Indian Educational Policy" should be studied by every educationist, this private effort has been firmly associated with the policy of what he calls "popular education", that is, widespread elementary education among the poor. These missionary bodies, while establishing great university colleges like the Christian College in Madras, Wilson College in Bombay, St. Stephen's College in Delhi, St. Joseph's Colleges in Bangalore and Trichinopoly, also have never lost sight of this prime responsibility of the educationist. And the State-aid that has been given to their institutions has been repaid ten-thousand-fold by the enlightenment that has been spread by these devoted missionaries, whose resources, let us not forget, have been supplied largely by the disinterested generosity of their supporters in Britain and America. It is well known that, in general, the education given, and the influence exerted, in missionary schools and colleges is of finer and more intimate quality than in government institutions, just because of that compound of sympathy, devotion and sacrifice that is called "the missionary spirit", and is found too seldom among those whom we call professional educationists.

The Church of Scotland Mission has rendered to the State of Jaipur important service of various kinds for very many years. In these days when there is a most gratifying public demand for the spreading of girls' education, it will do no harm to remember that anglo-vernacular education for girls was an early venture of this Mission, as it was of the Missions in so many other places in India. The first hospital for women, a rented

house in the bazaar, was started by the missionaries of this Society.

One happy feature of my time in Jaipur was the increasing attraction of the place as the venue of several All-India Conferences. Numismatists, educationists, librarians, political scientists - all loved to assemble there at their annual sessions. Of special significance was the P.E.N. (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) conference, otherwise known as the All-India Writers' Conference, held in October 1945. It was the first of its kind. Mrs. Sophia Wadia was the heart and soul of the Conference. She took infinite pains in organising it and making it the great success it was. Distinguished men (and women) of letters came from all parts of the country and from abroad too, the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair. During her stay in Jaipur she stayed at Rambagh Palace as the guest of His Highness. Among others who took part in the Conference were Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Mr. Herman Gould and Mr. E.M. Forster gave it an international touch.

Jaipur like other princely States in Rajaputana had no constitution. The Government of the State was carried on by the Maharaja with the aid of a Council consisting of a Prime Minister and three colleagues. The Ministers were appointed by His Highness and held office during his pleasure.

The Council was presided over by the Maharaja, and in his absence by the Prime Minister. It seemed to me that it was unwise for the Maharaja to preside ~~over the Council~~ and thus associate himself too closely with the administration as it would bring his name into public controversy (when the actions of Government came under review and criticism by the people). His Highness saw the point and ~~relinquished~~ delegated the office of President and delegated it to the Prime Minister.

There was no constitutional forum in the State where the representatives of the people could meet the members of Government and express their views on Government's policies and measures, and ventilate their grievances. World events and the political agitation across the border in British India inevitably had repercussions in the State and awakened the people to a consciousness of their rights, ~~and there was~~ therefore there was some amount of political unrest which found expression in demands for democratic institutions and the grant of responsible government. The Praja Mandal was the political organ of the intelligentsia. Timely satisfaction of reasonable aspirations seemed to me the only remedy if orderly progress without a too violent break with past traditions was to be secured. It was a great pleasure to me, therefore, that His Highness the Maharaja appreciated my viewpoint and readily gave sanction to the appointment of a Committee to consider the reforms necessary in the machinery of the Government. On the committee were represented all the important social and economic interests of the State, and it was presided over by Mr. S. Hiriyanaiya, a former Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, a very able and experienced officer who had practical experience of the working of representative institutions in ~~that State~~ Mysore

were accepted. Two

Accepting, In the main, the recommendations of this Committee, two houses were established with functions supplementary rather than competetive. The larger house was for the masses of the people, particularly of the rural areas, where their representatives could freely convey to the Government their wants and grievances and express their views on matters in which the Government might choose to consult them. The members could ask questions and influence the administration but had no other powers.

The smaller house elected on a more restricted franchise and modelled on the British Indian Legislative Councils, had a non-official majority and was invested with real political power. Subject to the Maharaja's assent, it could pass laws, discuss and vote on the budget, ask questions and pass resolutions on matters of public interest. Sufficient powers were, however, reserved for the Maharaja for use in an emergency.

The Council of Ministers was being recruited chiefly from the official classes and the sirdars who were hereditary landlords occupying nearly two-thirds of the area of the State on a kind of feudal tenure. A non-official was appointed from among the public men and it was the intention to appoint one or two more and gradually the Council was to consist entirely of non-official Ministers, with the exception of the Chief Minister, who might also be a non-official, but holding office during the Maharaja's pleasure.

The reforms were announced in a Proclamation by the Maharaja on January 1, 1944 and were well received by the people. The constitutional progress of the State was thus assured.

carrying

Because of so many distinguished visitors to Jaipur who carried away with them happy memories there was [illegible] an atmosphere of goodwill in which I could continue my work. It did not, however, mean that there was no opposition from interested quarters. To give an instance, or two - The Hindu Mahasabha had its eyes always upon me. It was most anxious to get me out of Jaipur, somehow, as soon as possible. It was abhorrent to its creed to see a Muslim occupying a high position in a Hindu State. It made an attempt of the kind when I was Dewan of Mysore, but failed to sow the seeds of suspicion and ill-will against me. Its efforts in Jaipur were more determined and better organized. Its main accusation against me was a very plausible one but equally foolish since it could easily be disproved, as indeed it was - that I was demolishing or otherwise spoiling Hindu temples, while what I was actually doing was to repair, and renovate them. They were, most of them, in a neglected condition, and some were being actually used as gambling dens. The pink walls of the city and many of the public buildings had not been repaired or colour washed for over a quarter of a century. And when I proceeded to clean them up, a charge of extravagance was levelled against me, not by the Mahasabha this time, but by those who should have known better.

The Mahasabha's campaign of vilification and misrepresentation was

carried so far that I considered it necessary to issue a statement challenging the Sabha to prove its allegations, and in the event of failure, it should, in fairness, withdraw its allegations and tender an apology to me.

I got Dr. Moonje and Dr. P. Varadarajulu of Salem (both Vice-Presidents of the Mahasabha), ~~the former notorious for his anti-Muslim views~~, to pay a special visit to Jaipur to investigate the matter themselves how far the allegations were founded on facts. They came and inspected every one of the temples which I was said to have demolished or interfered with. Sir Teja Singh Malik, the Chief Engineer who took them round had no difficulty in showing how false the accusation was. While Dr. Varadarajulu issued a statement giving the correct facts, even expressing his satisfaction at what had been done to repair and improve the temples, Dr. Moonje, although personally well-disposed towards me, refused to associate himself publicly with no allegation, and even tried to prevent him from issuing such a statement, which he thought was quite unnecessary, although admitting privately that the information they had received was utterly false. The agitation soon died down.

why was information for his early Muslim bias,

My attitude towards places of worship is indicated in the following extract from a speech I made in Mysore as Dewan. This policy was much appreciated by the public, ~~and no one ever suspected me of doing anything except improving them~~.

> Cleanliness is next only to godliness. All but a few holy places and temples in the country are standing examples of a deplorable lapse in their maintenance in a manner that befitted their sanctity. If any place deserved to be kept clean, it is the temple where people foregathered to worship, and a dirty or untidy temple is hardly conducive either to the spiritual cleanliness of the worshippers or to their physical well-being, for that matter, while it is scarcely a compliment to the deity or to the religion they follow. The first requisite of a place of worship is that it should be physically clean; mental, moral and spiritual exaltation will then follow more easily.

The Hindu Mahasabha was also responsible for starting an agitation against the use of Urdu in Government offices. The agitation, as is usual in India (and of course in Pakistan) with movements possessing or acquiring a religious tinge, grew to such proportions that something had to be done about it. The Government decided to recognise Hindi, equally with Urdu, as an official language. A letter which the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote to me on the subject is well-worth reproducing here, as it is not devoid of interest even to-day. It embodies the views of one of the foremost and sanest political leaders and thinkers that modern India has produced, a man who, as I have said elsewhere, was the embodiment of Hindu-Muslim culture in its truest sense:

Thus had nothing to do with the introduction of Urdu as the official language etc (see letter)

> Only this morning I read in the Statesman a short paragraph with great regret that an agitation has sprung up in Jaipur over the unfortunate Urdu-Nagri question and that a member of the Hindu Mahasabha has gone on hunger strike just to bring pressure to bear on you to abolish Urdu as Court language. I have always objected on principle to these hunger strikes which appeal to the Eastern mind and particularly to the Hindu mind so much as illustrating the spirit of self-sacrifice. Frankly

I look upon them as a nuisance and as a most unjustified method of pressure. I have never admired this either in the case of the Mahatma or in the case of any other person. As regards the merits of the controversy, you know that I have always been and continue to be an unflinching supporter of Urdu, the common bond of cultural union between Hindus and Mohamedans in Northern India. This does not mean that I am opposed to the study of Sanskrit or Hindi, but surely commonsense and respect for history require that we must not be parties to extinguishing a culture which is the result of common effort. I believe in good many departments of your State Hindi is in vogue, but in good many others Urdu is in vogue. I cannot understand why there should be this spirit exhibited by Hindus or Mohamedans at this juncture and I do sincerely hope and trust that you will with your usual tact be able to deal with this controversy satisfactorily. My sympathies are entirely with you.

I have lately been reading Ain-i-Akbari and Tusak-i-Jahangiri in Persian. Not being able to get new books from England I am reviving my knowledge of Persian and it is a source of delight to me. Whoever may have any grievance against the Moghal Rule, the Rajputs have no reason to feel any historical grievance against the Moghal Rule. At nearly every page I come across the names of Rajput noblemen of those days who played a considerable part in the development of the Moghal Rule and culture and Jaipur was probably the most prominent. It is a pity to my mind that the present day politics should blind both Hindus and Mohamedans to historical facts and add to the bitterness that has been caused by politic differences. I have never looked upon Urdu as an exclusively Mohamedan language and I have always treated it as a common heritage although I know that I have annoyed many of the stalwarts of the Hindu Mahasabha by the expression of this opinion. which was in my pocket (in Delhi) I recall with

It gives me great pleasure to recall that my first public address as Prime Minister was to the rising generation of the State Jaipur. Ten days after I delivered the inaugural address at the Podar Intermediate College at Nawal arh, I found myself amidst the students of the Maharaja's College at Jaipur - the leading college in Rajasthan. The I was fascinated by the fine building was one of the finest I have seen in India. Was I carried away by the imposing structure or actuated by a rash impulse when within a few weeks of my arrival I ventured to speak to the young men of a University ?

> Indeed, I do not see (I said) why in time you should not have a University of Rajputana, with its centre in this city of Jaipur. I hope that this, perhaps, may come in my time ..... it is fine to think of it, to keep on pronouncing the name - the University of Rajputana.

I had no doubt in my mind that the thing had to be done, whatever be the impediments in my path, and Once the idea struck me, it was out of the question that I could rest till a start was made. My first difficulty was in finding the right man to undertake the task. Luckily for me - and for Jaipur as subsequent events proved - the choice of the man presented little or no difficulty . I could think of only one and, as was always the case with me, I gave him no alternative to opting out of his own environment and joining me in my crusade against Jaipur's backwardness. I invited my old friend, Mr. J.C. Rollo, and soon found him by my side.

Mr. Rollo, who came to India as Principal of the Pachiappa's College, Madras and later served Mysore as Principal of the Maharaja's College for an educational adviser of Travancore. He belonged to the noble band of Englishmen to whom India owed much not only for advancing the cause of English education in the country but for the example they set as real 'teachers' and mento

I have had opportunities of knowing many English friends closely both here and abroad - men whose dedicated service to the causes in which they served was a source of strength and inspiration to me as to so many others, but rarely have I come across any who surpassed Mr. Rollo in his sense of devotion to work. In matters of discipline and duty he is a martinet.

I relied Mr. Rollo to my aid and relied on him completely for creating a university in Rajasthan out of more or less a void. My first impulse was to make him Principal of the Jaipur College for its thorough overhaul but on second thought I created a special place for him as Special Education Officer. His formidable task was two-fold - to reorganize the entire educational system in the State and then to fashion out of it a university. It was a formidable task. Local prejudice, born of ignorance, had to be fought, regional coordination brought about, neighbouring states coaxed, and above all, the Central Government in Delhi persuaded to bless and support the effort. Nothing was too much for Mr. Rollo. He shared my faith and more than shared my zeal. If to-day Jaipur is happily privileged to boast of a University which serves in the new setting wider needs, almost the entire credit goes to him who, by his single-minded devotion to duty, starting from scratch laid its foundations firmly and, in the wake of all pioneers, disappeared from the scene. If the dream was mine, the deed was his, and I owe it to myself to call him the Father or Maker of the Jaipur University.

I had as the head of the Medical Department Dr. Fletcher Robinson, FRCS (originally from the U S A) a surgeon of outstanding ability. He was for fifteen years in charge of the General Hospital in Mysore and Principal of the Medical College. Dr. Robert Heilig, M.D. of Vienna was on the staff of the General Hospital as the First Physician. Both of them migrated with me from Mysore and both first-rate men. These two with Dr. Sen, FRCS, a Jaipurian, formed a splendid team and brought fame to the hospital. The Public Works Department had as its Chief a distinguished engineer, Sir Teja Singh Malik, who rendered very meritorious service in the building of New Delhi. Jaipur was not altogether lacking in local talent. There were some really fine officers who could be relied upon for hard and honest work.

There were other men who helped me in other tasks during my four-year period at Jaipur. They came from different places, far and near, and perhaps mostly from Mysore. And thereby hangs a tale! It fell to my lot to face and fight severe criticism directed against me from certain quarters for having imported outsiders. But I had no qualms. Local talent was by no means abundant, and it was certainly not such as could be harnessed to far-reaching and ambitious projects. I was wide-awake to the fact that I was in Jaipur for a shorter rather than longer time and that if even half of my attempts were to be carried through, it was necessary to have experts. At the same time I had to take care that those

who came on invitation were men who would not think in terms of permanent service but only of strenuous work within allotted time. It was thus that outsiders came to Jaipur but none of them had any thought of settling down in Rajasthan. Actually it was ~~a job~~ easy to induce the Mysoreans to exchange the salubrious climate of Bangalore for the desert air of Rajasthan. Some of them were none too happy to leave their homes or break away from their well-earned rest, but they responded to my invitation more for my sake than for any other consideration. To these friends I must acknowledge my obligation for having readily joined me in the "new adventure" that began "both for the State and for me".

? Why quotation marks?

That adventure manifested itself diversely. There was no lack of effort on myriad fronts. ~~Winding up~~ At the first sitting my first speech in Jaipur State I said:

> I feel that Destiny has used me well in bringing me here at this time of golden promise and opportunity, and I hope that, when the time comes for us to part company, we may bless the day when we began to work together.

And at last, though none too soon, came the day of my departure. My last public ~~presence~~ function there was on ~~the~~ 29 July 1946 when I ~~was asked to lay~~ laid the foundation-stone of the buildings of the Bank of Jaipur and of the New Club of Jaipur. The occasion came in handy for organisers of the functions to strike ~~what is known as~~ the valedictory note. In the addresses of welcome presented to me handsome references were made, among other things, to the establishment of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, the ~~place for~~ inclusion of a popular Minister in the Cabinet, municipal reforms, codification of laws, the Rajputana University in the making and the Jaipur Medical College in the offing, various small and large industries, the retransformation of Jaipur into a beautiful city and the new life in the State. ~~It would be vain on my part not to say that~~ I was happy in the realisation of having done a spot of work in Jaipur and happier in having met with so much of goodwill and appreciation. Abiding, indeed, are the memories of my days in Jaipur.

~~I might as well repeat that~~ The Maharaja was rather anxious that I should stay on in Jaipur indefinitely, and the public equally so. Mr.G.D. Birla and other Marwari magnates on the one hand and the Praja Mandal men led by Mr. Hiralal Sastri on the other hand repeatedly requested me not to go. Having received the Hyderabad offer, I felt that I must go there and help the Nizam in facing what, one could foresee, would be a difficult, if also exciting, future. In any case I had resolved to say goodbye to Jaipur, acting on the advice of Sadi - 'Say enough to yourself before others say it to you'. I thought I must go when everyone was anxious that I should stay on!

CHAPTER V.

~~EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS I HAVE KNOWN~~
Friends from Western Lands

In my official career, I came in close contact with many Europeans and Americans. The memory of their kindness and warm friendship is a dear possession and ~~it will be~~ a constant source of joy and inspiration to me.

Foremost among these is my old Guru, Sir Stuart Fraser, ~~K.C.S.I.~~, at whose feet I sat for nearly six years as a class-mate of the late Maharaja of Mysore. I have already referred to Sir Stuart as a most distinguished political officer, as he was a most successful tutor and guardian of ~~the~~ Ruling Princes. I ~~must~~ have visited England at least nine times ~~so far~~ and during each visit I made it a point to go and pay my respects to him in his pleasant home, Brook House, at Christchurch, preceded ever with such charm by his daughter Violet.

Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, ~~I came to know when he~~ was Resident in Mysore for nearly six years ~~from~~ (1910 ~~to~~ 1916) when I was ~~then~~ Huzur Secretary to the Maharaja, ~~who was also very fond of him.~~ Sir Hugh had great influence with the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and there was no recommendation of his concerning Mysore, which the Viceroy did not approve. He was not very popular in his own Department, which called him the Durbar's Vakil, just because he invariably backed up Mysore and was greatly trusted and respected by both the Ruler and the public. The Mythic Society Hall in Bangalore is named after him as well as a beautifully shaded pergola in the City of Mysore, constructed by His late Highness at his own cost and situated within Palace grounds. A really lovable man, as able as he was kind. He took a keen interest in the State and kept in touch with us even after retirement. He passed away in October 1939.

[omit]

The loss of my beloved father, his daughter, Mrs. Paget-Tomlinson, wrote to me, so soon after my mother's death is a crushing blow to me. Your letter expressing so much affection for him and so much sympathy, means so much to me. I know he often heard from you. He loved your letters, and was so fond of you and so often talked about you, and that last week also. I think he died of a broken heart. He could not endure life without my mother even though he lived so gallantly, and I think, too, the tension of those days worried him greatly. He listened to Lord Halifax the night he died.

Sir William Barton and I have been friends ever since he was Resident in Mysore from 19.. That friendship has only grown warmer with the lapse of time. We still correspond with one another regularly. Sir William went to Hyderabad from here and during his Residentship he brought about drastic reforms in the administration and saved it from ~~utter~~ collapse. I ~~visited~~ him several times while he was in Hyderabad and ~~immediately~~ stayed with him. ~~He was naturally not popular with the Nizam but that did not prevent His Exalted Highness from being kind to me.~~ Naturally was not drawn to him

Colonel and Mrs. T.J. McGann were two of my most revered friends, as they were of the late Maharaja and his mother. Mrs. McGann was a life-long friend of ~~Her Highness, the mother of the Maharaja, and they were most devoted friends indeed.~~ that great lady Colonel McGann belonged to the Indian Medical Service and started his official career in Mysore. He rose to be ~~the~~ Chief a Surgeon

I received warmth of welcome and kindness from women of the country.

I have had too many friends in journalism to refer to them in detail, but I must write of the friendship I enjoyed of one who held with much distinction the highest post in the profession -- that of the editorship of "The Times". I first met the late Geoffrey Dawson when in 1929 he toured in India with his wife, daughter of a former Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Lawley (afterwards Lord Wenlock), who was a special friend of the late Maharaja of Mysore. We corresponded occasionally and I was in touch with him when in London at the sessions of the Round Table Conference. It was well said of that gifted man that he was a past master of his craft, and there was nothing he asked any colleague to do that he could not do better himself. I shall always hold his memory in grateful remembrance both for his outstanding characteristics as a man and a journalist and his extraordinary kindness to me.

I must also mention that most likeable friend Mr. Ralph Deakin who has held with such zeal and efficiency for many years the exacting position of Foreign News Editor of The Times.

There is another name which must be mentioned here is that of my friend Sir Frank Brown, who has been long connected with that great The Times paper. I have had the privilege of enjoying his friendship for many years, a friendship which has been fruitful to me in many ways. His knowledge of India is unique and there is hardly any Indian visitor of note who has visited England during these twenty last years and more with whom he is not personally acquainted. He is the life and soul of the East India Association and has rendered valuable service to this country through that organization.

He has a remarkable flair for judging of news value, and in making the right selection at the right time, on the Commonwealth & foreign side for the main article of today — still known in Printing House Square as "the Thunderer" though it ceased years ago to fill the first column of the leader page and to contain merely editorial. Deakin is a man of decided views and I have always found discussion or argument with him like thundering.

Medical Officer of the State and earned fame as a physician and a successful head of the Medical Department. On retirement they went away to England and to settle down in England. The Maharaja wrote

I remember His Highness writing to them in 1908 or so, asking them to come back and spend a few months in Mysore as his mother's and his guests. These months spread themselves out into years, and neither they nor Their Highnesses had the heart to part from one another. Only death did that. Colonel McGann died in 19.. at the age of 95, and Mrs McGann on January 27, 1941, at the age of ...., surviving both His Highness and his mother. I was, unfortunately, away in New Delhi at the time and could not see her before her death. When I heard, on my return, that she had expressed a great desire to see me as she wanted to tell me something, which she would not tell any one else, my regret can easily be imagined. She was like a mother to me and as her daughter who, I am glad to say, is still with us in Mysore, often says to me she looked upon me as her second son. Such affection and attachment is rare in this world, especially between persons of different races and creeds. I am thankful to have experienced it in such generous measure. As an English friend wrote to me soon after her passing -

> Just as when His Highness died, we have been realising how much the loss of Mrs. McGann has meant to you, and feeling with you just as then. There is no one like her. No body quite so human.

And Sir Charles Todhunter wrote -

> ..... She lapsed into unconsciousness and in 20 minutes (during one which Heileg was sent for) she ceased breathing. One is thankful that it ended without pain, and of late she has had little pleasure in life. But I know how you will feel the passing of another link with the old happy days when you and His late Highness were young men together and dreaming the dreams that you had since been so busy turning into realities.

Colonel McGann was the soul of honour if ever there was one. He would not do or say anything or give the slightest impression to any one of saying or doing anything which his high code of honour and his conscience did not approve. Let me give a concrete instance of this: He told me one day that he felt that it was his duty to speak to His Highness seriously about a matter which he knew was of a very delicate and purely personal nature and which would be extremely distasteful to him. Nevertheless, Colonel McGann thought that he had a duty to discharge, and discharge it he did. His Highness received his advice very coldly and it was obvious that it was most unwelcome to him. His respect for Colonel McGann was, however, such that he would not argue with him but politely put him off. Colonel McGann gave me an account of his talk. Although he knew his advice had no effect, he was satisfied: he felt that he had relieved his conscience of a heavy burden which it had been carrying far too long.

When A new hospital was built at Shimoga, the headquarters of the district where Colonel McGann began his official career in Mysore, it was appropriately named after him by the Maharaja, thus commemorating the life-long connection of a most loyal friend of his family and State

McCann was alive when this was done, but unfortunately his health did not permit him to go and see the hospital, although the Maharaja offered to send him and Mrs McCann in His own saloon.

Sir Harcourt Butler was one of those to whom I was much attached. A strong friendship developed between us from the time we first met and that was when he visited Mysore as Chairman of the Indian States' Committee.

Sir Harcourt was one of the most distinguished men that came out to India as members of the famous Civil Service of India. His was a remarkably successful career, first as Political Secretary, then a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and successively Governor of the United Provinces and Burma. I kept myself in close touch with him.

Sir Harcourt was averse to the separation of Burma from India and he was very annoyed with the Secretary of State when he was consulted in the matter after, as Sir Harcourt said, the decision had been made. I carried on a vigorous campaign against the proposal and brought out a pamphlet explaining my reasons for opposing it. Sir Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma, who was on special duty in London in connection with the Round Table Conference, sent for me and had a talk with me on the subject, but he did not succeed in making me change my view. Unfortunately, I could get no support from Mahatma Gandhi or the Indian Delegation; and only towards the end of the Session, Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, one of the delegates, spoke in protest, but that could hardly be expected to influence the Government's decision. My hope was that not only Burma but even Nepal and Ceylon might one day form part of a great Federation and the constitution of India should be such as to admit of the possible inclusion of these countries in it. That would have been good for all concerned. Instead, this sub-continent was destined to meet with a different fate.

I was interested to hear from Sir Harcourt that, if Lord Reading had not accepted the offer of the Viceroyalty of India, Mr. Lloyd-George would have given the post to him and what a difference that might have made to India. In my view, Sir Harcourt was superior to Lord Reading both in high statesmanship and in administrative capacity. His knowledge of India was unique and his sympathy towards Indian aspirations, as I knew from my intimate talks with him, was genuine and eminently practical. The following letter dated 23rd July, 1929, is a good example of his wisdom and vision and is not without interest even to-day.

> I read with great pleasure the extract from you speech which appeared in The Times of the 18th July. I am well satisfied with the reception of the report as a whole and I think that it has created an atmosphere very favourable to the Princes and that the developments of the report will be more important than the conclusions of the report itself. If all took as broad views as you do I should be more than pleased. I gather that paras 50-54 are distasteful to some of the Princes and I can understand their point of view. As one very old friend of mine in their ranks (if I may use such a term of Princes!) put it in a letter to me "Our loyalty is unconditional". "Your support should be unconditional". But this is not quite practical politics. One or two prominent Labour members of Parliament have regretted that our terms of reference did not lead us to examine the relations between the Princes and their people. Well, I have nothing more to say. I did my best and the matter is now out of my hands

and I can only hope that something substantial will come out of it all. I am always a little afraid of constitution making. I prefer that things should grow in a good atmosphere. I look back on nothing in our tour with greater pleasure than my talks with you.

How long the present Government will last, no one knows. Their extreme supporters are already displeased with them and they have many difficult problems to face. In the end everything comes back to finance. The American tariff has stirred up the world. What the end of it will be we don't know. The Empire merger scheme is attractive and full of difficulties. Many free-traders are ready to sacrifice pure principle to a large extent for the object of greater imperial union. But no one yet seems to be able to go far in that direction without a tax on corn and meat and the prevailing view at present is that these will not be accepted by the Electorate. Mr. Snowden is a bigot on free trade. Possibly the economic conference which is ahead may offer some useful advice. The Committee on industry and trade over which my friend Sir Arthur Balfour presided was unable to help. We shall see. The Government is now faced with crises in the cotton, wool, and coal trades. I believe that the railway men will be content to postpone their demands for the restoration of the cut wage but their leaders may not be able to control them. I say leaders but the real leader is J.H. Thomas.

I am a Director of the National Provincial Bank and find the work of absorbing interest. One gets an insight into the large economic questions which, as you rightly say, are the important questions. Pure politics don't interest people nearly as much as they used to do. There is a lot of reorganization of industry going on, they call it rationalization, but the pace is slow. Will the workers work ? Prosperity must rest on work in the last resort. The economic enlightenment of the average worker seems to be limited by a suspicion that somewhere there is a like of money into which governments and capitalists dip their ladles, so why not the working man. I am not a great admirer of democracy but we have to take things as we find them and pay the price. On the whole the British democracy is sounder than most. As one working man said to me at the time of the Election, "The liberals were no d--n use to us so let's try labour. If they're no d--n use to us we'll turn them out." The rock ahead in every country, except America, is finance and even in America it may prove that they have too much of it. Financial ideas like others are changing under the pressure of events.

Please remember me warmly to His Highness and with kindest regards to your wife and yourself,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

HARCOURT BUTLER.

This is only one of many that he wrote to me, expressing his views freely on current topics, as the following extracts show:

From his letter of the 26th September 1932 -

India is not a place for short cuts in my opinion.

From the letter of March 3, 1936 -

On the whole I am an optimist. The longer I live, the less importance I attach to <u>immediate</u> political issues. Here in London we are too much interested in the vagaries of politicians. Economic prosperity is the main thing and we are doing well, better than most countries. The Indian budget has been well received here. Personally, I regret the expenditure on new provinces at this stage, but I suppose that events have made this inevitable.

For the League of Nations I have no use. It simply does not exist.

I do not admire our foreign policy. I sometimes wonder whether we have one. But I admit the situation has been very difficult for the politicians. That democracy will last for ever I cannot believe, but it will probably last for my life time, and at present it seems to suit our people. Mr. Baldwin seems tired. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald seems quite

played out. Mr. Neville Chamberlain is sound but not inspiring.

He wrote on 23rd November 1936

The longer I live the greater evil I think the Press. But we cannot apparently do without it or control it properly. It is the great misleader. Our Press may be less dishonest than the Press of some other countries but it is bad enough.

India had the misfortune of losing a great friend in the Marquess of Lothian who had been earmarked, it was understood, for the Viceroyalty of India, after Lord Irwin.

The late Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, the Editor of The Times, whose acquaintance I had made when he visited Mysore, gave a luncheon party at his house in Regent's Park and asked several distinguished people to meet me, among whom were Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Lord Lothian. I met Lord Lothian for the first time at the party. I was so highly impressed by him that I ventured to ask Mr. Baldwin if Lord Lothian would not do splendidly as Viceroy of India. ~~The Government were then looking for a successor to Lord Irwin.~~ His answer was that Lord Lothian was wanting in administrative experience, and would not do for the post. The appointment went to Lord Willingdon. The Labour Cabinet had thought of a Labour Peer but when Mr. Baldwin came to know of this, he went to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and protested against the proposed appointment and the proposal was dropped at the last moment.

Lord Lothian need not have died so relatively young but he was a convinced Christian scientist, and he succumbed to a malady which medical science could have cured but which Christian science, unfortunately, could not.

Lord Lothian was a great believer in an all-India Federation. This is what he wrote to me on the subject on 13th June 1938:

I have taken a long time in answering your letter but I have been fearfully busy since I got back to England. We had a very successful dinner last Wednesday in honour of His Highness's Birthday, and I venture to enclose some remarks I made on semi-political subjects after describing the very favourable impressions I had gained of progress in Mysore during my recent visit there under your kindly and most hospitable guidance.

~~These remarks are really the only answer I can make to your query.~~ I am clear in my own mind that the only course is for the Princes to yield to popular demands to be associated with government in proportion as those demands are substantial. If they do not yield they are bound to accumulate against them bitterness and agitation increasingly stimulated from outside which will eventually force them to give away much more, and their subjects will then be convinced that they have got some share in responsibility as a result of pressure from Congress rather than on the initiative of the Princes themselves. That has been the secret of the success of the British Crown and indeed of the British aristocracy. They have been thoroughly conservative until they recognised that an irresistible demand for reform was growing up when they have effected the reform themselves in a moderate way rather than allow their opponents to carry it in an immoderate way. Moreover, I think experience shows that in the case of communities which have not had some practice in self-governing institutions, a moderate advance is the best security against revolutionary agitation, that it really strengthens the throne by the transfer to the decision of the Legislature the most controversial issues, and increases the number of people and interests who actively and loyally support moderate institutions and methods. Personally, I have always believed that the principle which underlay the House of Lords in the old days was a sound one, namely, that the Upper House should represent the big

economic forces while the Lower House should represent the majority of the electorate in each constituency. The weakness of latter-day democracy is that it does not ensure that enough people of real administrative experience in industry and business find their way into the Legislature. The Legislature may be a very good reflex of contemporary political opinion, but unless it is supplemented by people who really know what economic responsibility is, it is liable to go off the rails. The corporative state represents this idea though it swings far, too far to the other side by eliminating the elected Assembly. In the old days the House of Lords consisted of great landlords who were responsible for the agricultural industry, to whom were later added the great industrial and financial magnates. Its weakness to-day is that it does not contain enough representatives of the Trades Unions and the employees. While its debates, therefore, are very good because they are contributed to by people who really know about the subjects they discuss, the House as a whole lacks influence because it is recognised to be one-sided.

I should have thought that if you could contrive a Lower House which ensured that all important elements of public opinion could find free expression within it, including that of the cultivator, thought there was a clear moderate majority, and a Second Chamber which contained within it people who could speak with real authority about the interests of agriculture, mining, industrial development, municipal government and so on, and contained also representatives of organised agricultural and industrial labour, you would get a Legislature which would both reflect the currents of public opinion, understand real needs of the community and yet retain the immense influence which the throne and the Maharaja's Councillors can bring to bear at every stage, toth of legislation and administration, for sanity and so enable the throne to continue to be the focus for state loyalty and to possess the kind of influence which an increasingly non-political British Crown itself wields in this country.

I felt great sympathy with you at the time of the unfortunate riot, but it seems to me that you got out of the difficulty very well. I suppose there is no chance of your being in England in the near future ? I have fulfilled my promise and sent you a photograph of myself a week or two ago. I hope it has arrived safely. Would you be very kind and let me have one of yourself in return ?

Yours sincerely,

LOTHIAN.

Lord Lothian's Note: At the moment, the central preoccupation of the States is their future relations with British India. No one can travel in India to-day without becoming aware of the inevitable effect of education, the press, the radio, political propaganda, economic development and of constitutional changes in British India itself on the inhabitants of the States, and of the growing interest which public opinion in British India was taking in the future of the States. I have long been a firm, indeed an enthusiastic, supporter of the principle of Federation. When I look at what the division of Europe into twenty-five sovereignties has cost its people in war and frustration and poverty, when I consider that self-governing institutions will strengthen rather than weaken separatist tendencies in India, as they had done everywhere else in the world, unless there is also organic union at the top, I cannot escape the conclusion that the inauguration of Federation at the same time as the principle of responsible government if established in British India and at the Centre, is absolutely vital to the peace and progressive development of all parts of India alike. Opinions may differ as to the precise form the Federation should take. I have criticisms to make of the Act myself. But that India ought to move forward to a new age as an organic whole is not, I think, open to dispute. I hope, therefore, that the Princes will decide for federation in the near future by an overwhelming majority. Nothing else but acceptance of the principle that British India and the States are going to move forward in some organic relationship to one another, based on mutual confidence, can prevent the most dangerous and revolutionary conflicts arising between them in the future.

But that is only half the problem. Nothing was more striking to-day than the way in which the question of constitutional reform within the States

and therefore the question of the manner in which the Ruler will appoint the representatives of the State in the Federal Legislature, questions which were hardly discussed when I was in India six years before, have recently come to the front. I do not propose to discuss this matter to-night because I am far less familiar with conditions inside the States than I am with conditions in British India and because conditions vary widely between one State and another. But I would invite the attention of those who wield power in the States to the illuminating experience of the British Crown in very similar circumstances in the past. I think it contains real lessons.

You will remember that the two great cultural and religious movements known as the Renaissance and the Reformation coupled with the discovery of the New World challenged in the fifteenth century the mediaeval structure of society and the absolute authority both of priest and king. Something very like these movements have been at work in India in the last fifty years. The Tudors were the last dynasty in England to wield absolute power, though Queen Elizabeth was extraordinarily careful to test a dawning public opinion before she began to act. But the Stuart Kings, and especially Charles I, fell back upon the doctrine of the divine right of Kings and resisted the claim of their subjects, expressed through Parliament, to have an effective voice in the conduct of public affairs. So fierce did the struggle become that it ended in civil war. And then, because the issue was settled by violence, the pendulum swung too far the other way. The King was beheaded and his dynasty dethroned. But Parliament was not yet ready to govern and Cromwell, a man of genius, established a personal dictatorship in the interest of unity and order. But when Cromwell died the pendulum swung back again to monarchial autocracy until, twenty-eight years later, the Stuart dynasty was finally over-thrown and the basis of Parliamentary system was well and truly laid in the Bill of Rights, which secured civil liberty and rights to the individual and the constitutional convention which ensured that the King in choosing his Ministers had to choose men who had the confidence of Parliament also.

This, of course, was the first experiment in the Parliamentary system. It took long to work out and there were ups and downs until it reached its full fruition in the days of Queen Victoria. But the essential principles upon which it rests are, I believe, unassailable, and are entirely applicable as the solution of the conflicts and difficulties which are now increasingly liable to arise in the Indian States. They ensure that the whole body of executive and governmental experience is increasingly tempered by constant association with those who represent and understand the needs of the people and that responsibility for government is shared as experience and the sense of responsibility grows in the Legislature. No other system has been so successful in enlarging the liberties of the subject, in preventing violent political collisions, in bringing about constitutional evolution, yet in maintaining the influence and popularity of the throne. Never has the British Crown been more respected and popular than it is to-day. Yet never has democracy been more fully realised. I do not think that those who are responsible for directing the affairs of the States in the next few difficult years can do better than to study and to grasp the evolution of the powers and states of the British Crown and apply its lessons to the problems of their States.

I express this hope because I believe that the Indian States have a part to play in the development of India. One of the difficulties in British India in finding the way of transferring power and responsibility from British to Indian hands has lain in the fact that the British comes from a foreign land and that power resides in Downing Street. This fact has inevitably inflamed national feeling and made for misunderstanding and friction between the two sides. But this alien factor does not arise in the Indian States, at any rate to anything like the same extent. Ruler and ruled belong to the same nation and live permanently in the same country. As the process of constitutional development takes place I think that the gradual transition will prove more friendly and easy than has sometimes been the case in British India.

This brings me to the last thing I have to say. There have recently been some political disturbances in what is, perhaps, the best governed state in India. These things occur in the best regulated families But if the right lessons are drawn from them they end in good rather than

evil. The official order of the Mysore State Government issued on the 17th of May seems to me to reflect exactly the right spirit. It is based on no abstract theory. It deals with the facts and deals with them in a practical and conciliatory way. It is in the true constitutional tradition and I have no doubt that when the report of the now enlarged Mysore Committee on constitutional reforms comes to be published, its recommendations will be handled in that practical, constructive, progressive and tolerant spirit we are accustomed to expect from His Highness the Maharaja and his remarkable Diwan, Sir Mirza Ismail. If so Mysore may show the road in the constitutional sphere as it has already so amply done in the administrative and social sphere.

We wrote to each other regularly till he passed on. His letters from Washington where he was British Ambassador - and a great Ambassador he proved to be - were most interesting:

> How am I to thank you enough, he wrote on January 11, 1938, for your extraordinary hospitality and kindness or to congratulate you enough on what you are doing as Dewan of Mysore. My visit was not only a constant source of pleasure but gave me an entirely new insight into the possibilities of Indian States in the Federation. I am deeply grateful, and now only look forward to the possibility of paying another visit to Mysore before your term of office expires. Long may it continue.
>
> .....
>
> Remember, I look to you to save the Federation.

I recall a conversation we had after the acceptance of the Federation plan by the Round Table Conference. He said His view was that the Federation would probably prolong the life of the Ruling Princes by thirty years, and "after that" ? - I asked. His answer was that he did not think they would survive much longer. I did not agree with him then, and I should not agree with him even now when the Ruling Princes have all but ceased to exist as such. I felt - as I still do - that there was really no good reason why they - I mean the major States at any rate - should not go on indefinitely with the Rulers as constitutional heads. This would have been better for India than their virtual, if not, complete extinction.

I must say a word about Christian Missions which have been working in South India for very many years. In Travancore and Cochin, specially, their efforts at conversion have met with considerable success. The Christian population of those two States (now classed as one) exceeds one-third of the total population, but in Mysore, the Christian population is barely one per cent. The Wesleyan Mission has been the pioneer in the sphere of education, and provision of medical aid.

Speaking on the sixtieth anniversay of the foundation of the Methodist Mission Industrial School at Tumkur (1938), I said :-

> I was recently invited, when I was in Madras, to broadcast on the subject of Mysore, and I freely confess that, when I received the invitation I set myself to collect all the information I could about the resources and achievements of our beloved State and the nice things that had been said about it at various times by various people. On an occasion like the present, I cannot help feeling an earnest wish that someone would perform a like service for the Methodist Mission. I have on my table now a little book entitled "Karunashalai The Home of Compassion", a record of the work done by some of the ladies of the Mission (the Mission Hospital for Women and Children, Mysore City) and I cannot help feeling as I read it what an inspiration there is for us in such a record of cheerful acceptance of difficulties, of wholehearted enjoyment of work for others,

of incessant seeking where and how that work can be expanded. I confess that that little book has given me a great deal of information about the Mission, information which, I feel should have come to my knowledge as head of the administration but which had not actually done so.

Here we are to-day celebrating another wonderful achievement, of which the world knows far too little, the diamond jubilee of an attempt, beginning sixty years ago with an orphanage of boys rendered destitute by famine, to do what so many of the governments are trying to do now, to teach people to earn their living by means of various crafts. Throughout these sixty years the work has gone on steadily, expanding its quantity and improving its quality till Tumkur Mission furniture is known all over the State and over a great part of the Presidency of Madras, and has been selected for the mansion in Mysore City in which we entertain the highest in the land.

And the origin and development of the workshop are associated with the name of one whom we all love and revere, the Rev. G.W. Sawday, who was doing yeoman work as a young man in Tumkur in 1878, and who is doing yeoman work in Mysore as one of our older statesmen in 1938. Such being the case, I can give those responsible for the Industrial School no better message on this occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the laying of the foundation-stone than to say that that stone was indeed in every sense of the word most well and truly laid, and to express a hope that the edifice built up on these foundations may increase and prosper in the future as it has done in the past, to the great benefit not only of the Methodist Mission, but of the State in which the Mission works.

The Rev. George William Sawday was, doubtless, the foremost among the Christian missionaries who have ~~lived~~ and served in Mysore. Born in 1854, he came out in the late seventies and witnessed, as he took pleasure in saying, the marriage procession of Maharaja Sri Chamaraj Wadiyar in 1878. He ~~spent most of his life in Mysore City and was one of its most highly respected citizens~~. He identified himself closely with all public activities in the City and took a prominent part in municipal affairs and he was a member of the City Improvement Trust Board as well and took a keen interest in its work. At my special request, he continued to be a member of the Municipal Council until the very last, as I felt that the mere presence of a venerable old gentleman like him, so well-known and so highly-respected, at the meetings of the Council, was of great value to me. He was ~~one of my best friends~~, a friend on whose advice I could always rely. I used to consult him often on public matters.

~~His large capacity for friendship,~~ his unfailing sympathy with those who could be helped to large opportunities, his faithful ministry and devoted service, joined to a much more than ordinary capacity for administration, made him a missionary whose achievements were of surpassing value. His wise counsel influenced the lives of the people in every part of the District as well as those of many living far away from Mysore. The Holdsworth Memorial Hospital at Mysore City, and many chapels and schools in towns and villages are abiding testimonies to his loyal service. As a helper of every sound and reasonable scheme, as a benefactor of every student who could approach him with a just and right appeal, he filled the years of his retirement with such service as it has been given to few to render.

I must quote from a letter of his, to show how kindly disposed he was towards me:

You must permit me to congratulate you on your speech at the Repre-

sentative Assembly. I was unable to be present but thought of you with some amount of anxiety for I knew well how anxious you would be. I read the speech with the utmost pleasure. You surpassed yourself and I am sure all your friends must have been delighted. My son-in-law, Mr. Edwards, came to give me his impressions of the speech. I would not say a single insincere word, but I must tell you again how delighted I am. I only hope you will find in the men around you all the co-operation you need to make your schemes successful. May God guide and help you in everything.

Writing on March 26, 1944, he said:

It was very kind of you to send your congratulations to your old friend for his 90th Birthday. March 10 was certainly a red-letter day for me for shoals of letters and telegrams came from all points of the compass and it gave me very real pleasure to receive your good wishes. It is astonishing how kind people are and I am filled with wonder when I think of all the affection and goodwill shown me by people of all castes and creeds.

I suppose I have set up a bit of a record. It is more than 67 years since I landed in India in 1876. Of the 67 years I spent 6 in England when my dear wife died in 1895 and the children were young, and I have spent 61 in India (17 in Tumkur and 44 in Mysore City). I have come across an old letter conveying to me the thanks of the Government in 1894 (Fifty years ago) for my several years' service on the Tumkur Municipal Council.

It has always been a great pleasure to me to help in, in a humble way, the Government's aim for the uplift of the people, and I have the happiest of memories of the years spent under your Leadership. So much for myself.

When I heard of you coming this way I began to wonder if you would come to Mysore City. It is kind of you to speak about seeing me in Bangalore in June. I have not been there for nearly 2 years, for travelling, whether by rail or bus, is not very pleasant now. Still I shall not abandon the hope of seeing you again.

I hear from friends of all the improvements you have effected in Jaipur. It is only what I expected. Please accept my congratulations and my good wishes for the coming years.

I have still a good deal of sorrow on account of the departure from Mysore of yourself, Sir Charles and the Rollos - and my heart still mourns for our dear Friend, H.H. the late Maharaja.

I had to go to Tumkur, he wrote in 1937 in one of his numerous letters to me, to open an extension of the Orphanage which I began sixty years ago .....

Here let me tell you again that I think of you every day. You will not misunderstand me when I say that however great his attainments and however sound his judgment on commonsense may be, a man in your high position needs something that can come to him only through Divine influence or inspiration. So, believing this, I put your name before God in prayer every day asking Him to grant you wisdom, guidance and strength in all you have to do. This, dear Friend, is about all I can do for you, for whom I have so much affection and respect.

I was very sorry when his time came to retire from active work and return to his native land. He ~~was an old man then~~. He said good-bye to his friends and to the country he loved so dearly. But he could not be away longer than some ten months and back he was again at his old post of duty, leaving his daughter, sons and grandchildren behind. He built a neat little bungalow for himself in Mysore City and lived in it until his death on 16th September 1944 in the ninetieth year of his age and the sixty-ninth year of his ministry in Mysore.

Another non-official Englishman whose name was a household word in Mysore was Rajasabha Bhushana, Lieut.-Colonel W.L. Crawford, C.B.E., D.S.O. ~~to give him his full titles.~~ The ~~Indian~~ title was conferred upon him by

the present Maharaja. It carried with it a beautiful jewelled pendant worn round the neck and in addition a pair of shawls and brocade - which together are called khillat.

He and his partner brother C.S. Crawford arrived in Madras from London landing in a country boat from the steamer's side on July, 1887, to take an appointment as junior assistants on a coffee estate in Mysore. His brother was 17 and he was 18 years of age. They went by train from Bangalore to Mysore City, a distance of 87 miles, taking about nine hours to do the journey. The engine burnt wood to get up steam and halted half way to replenish the stock of firewood on the tender. I give below some extracts from a very interesting note which he prepared for me at my request:

Travel was extremely difficult, the main means of travel was on horse back, the bullock coach or the humbler bullock cart, the two former were rather luxury as there were very few and none could be hired. After two days, we left for Hassan 87 miles away in a bullock cart en route for Munjerabad where the coffee estates were situated. The journey to Hassan took five days and another day to the Estate. Of course, we had a cook to look after us at the various halts at the travellers' bungalows as we travelled at night and rested the bullocks during the day. I still have the happiest remembrance of what grand fellows were the Hassan gowda bandymen. There were only two of them but they could not have been nicer or kinder to us strangers in their land. The Malnad of Mysore, one of the most beautiful parts of the whole of India, was then almost unknown, and owing to malaria, was one of the most dreaded parts for the Government officers to be sent to: not only was the malaria prevalent but there was little or no medical aid available and no means of transport. Hassan District had but one fully qualified Medical Officer in the whole of the District, a very good doctor, the first Mysorean to qualify as L.M. & S. - a degree granted by the Madras University. There were unqualified men known as Hospital Dressers in most Taluk Headquarters. Compare this with the medical aid available to-day in the Hassan District with its many hospitals, dispensaries and 40 or more highly qualified medical officers

It was a common saying amongst the lesser Government officials that if they were not sufficiently efficient they were banished to the Malnad of Shimoga, Hassan and Kadur, and indeed banishment it was for men from Bangalore, as it took 10 or 15 days in a bullock cart to reach the Koppa Taluk and as the mail was all carried by runners, doing 4 mile stages, and the nearest Telegraph Office to Saklespur and Hassan was at the French Rocks on the Mysore Line near Seringapatam, over 100 miles away, and the telegrams had to be sent by the postal mail runners. I was told, but I never saw them, that very urgent messages were sent to District Headquarters by sowars mounted on a camel as they could reach Hassan from Mysore City in less than a day. The mail runners did a splendid job of work and our much vaunted Post Office, as far as Munzerabad is concerned, is not infrequently much faster now than 60 years ago. We are not on an air line and not infrequently letters to Bombay take even by so called air mail that we have to pay for, four or five days. I unhesitatingly say rural parts have not benefited in the smallest degree by the Air Service.

In those far off days the Dewan used to tour the District and halt three days at the various parts he wished to see, and I well remember having the honour of meeting that great man, Sir Seshadri Iyer, in Saklespur, where he camped and remained three days before going to Mudigere in the Kadur District. Now our Ministers seem in such a desperate hurry that their halt in Saklespur is often less than three hours and in that time it is quite impossible for them to get acquainted with the inhabitants or their wants and grievances.

My partner brother Charles Stuart Crawford and I loved our work as Coffee Planters, and the beautiful country we lived in, and our kind and friendly Indian neighbours, and our labourers, and I cannot remember ever having a quarrel with either.

My brother, Charles, was the partner in charge of all the work of opening and making the estates we developed, and to him alone is due the credit and praise for his wonderful pioneering work and the success we

attained. I personally do not think any European Planter opened out and roaded more primeval forest in all of South India or Mysore than my brother did single-handed with only the help of unskilled Indian assistants and by his example and training was able to develop these fine estates.

When we started work on the opening of the estates, the only way to get through the forest was by walking, as there were no paths only a few jungle tracks here and there; it was impossible to take a horse, so one simply had to walk. The first thing we had to do was to cut through the jungle and make a bridle path, no easy task. Then select a suitable site for the buildings for the labour we had to import from South Kanara, as there was no local labour available; then a cart road from first to be traced and then made through six miles of heavy jungle to the spot we decided should be the site for the lines, subsequently we were able to greatly improve the road by making it wider and putting in stone culverts and later bridge the rivers; for the largest bridge the Government of His Highness the Maharaja generously contributed two thirds of the cost. The main road without any of the subsidiary roads is 14 to 15 miles in length and ascends the Ganga Giri range of hills to an elevation of 4,000 feet being a climb from the Aldur Balehonnur District Board road where it ascends for over 1,700 feet. The road was so well traced and built that 5 ton lorries can use it at all times of the year and the few villages near can use it with their carts instead of pack bullocks as used to be the case before the road was made.

I might add that, with the exception of the help generously given towards the building of one of the bridges, this great work was carried out at the sole cost of the Crawford brothers. The District Board and the Public Works Department made no contribution to its cost, although it opened out nothing under 100 square miles of roadless country, and needless to say the very first to make use of it before it was even completed was the Forest Department to remove sandalwood that had there-to-fore been left to be destroyed by the jungle fires. In justice to the Government, it must be admitted that they might have helped to pay for the road construction had they been approached to do so, but all our lives we, Crawfords, have been givers not receivers.

When we started the Karady Khan Group, the nearest Medical Aid was 25 miles away and this necessitated the starting of our own Dispensary and a very small Hospital of 8 beds under a skilful medical officer. The dispensary was then and is now for over 45 years afterwards free to help the villagers and is in most cases their only hope of skilled medical help.

In recent years several Government dispensaries have been opened but they are invariably situated on a main road preferably a bus route, and as far as our group of estates are concerned, are from 9 to 13 miles distant.

We have been extraordinarily free from epidemics amongst the labourers which, in a measure, is due to the care taken in selecting the best sites possible for the buildings, and the provision of a protected water supply to each of the Estates, the water being brought down from the hills in pipes from the springs of water there.

I might add we have not been unmindful of the kindly people we have lived amongst so long, as we have contributed fairly largely to the improvement of the hospitals at the District Headquarters, Hassan and Chickmagalur, and donated sums of money for the higher education of deserving young people from the Estates, not only in Mysore but also in South Kanara, where most of the Overseers and labourers live.

Coffee planting is a pleasant and extremely interesting calling, and has substantial rewards to those who will stick to their estates and work hard and are not afraid of malaria, and to me it is amazing to note how very few educated Indians of Mysore are interested in this industry. It has been left to foreigners to develop the Planting Industry in Mysore; coffee, tea, cardamoms, and pepper, mostly from South Kanara and now Travancore. They have now taken up this work and are making a success of it.

In his letter dated the 19th November, 1950, he wrote:

I am now a lot better. My trouble is mainly high blood pressure. ..... You will be pleased to hear that there will be a bumper paddy crop all over the Malnad and a fairly good coffee crops, and absurdly high prices for both.

P.S. - I was 82 years of age on the 13th of this month (November). So I have had a very good innings.

Again, on 6th March 1951;

Unfortunately I fell and fractured a bone in my neck, really a broken neck, but thanks to the Hassan D.M.O. and other doctors. I am now fairly well again but I have been forbidden to write letters or do any office work - rather hard to carry out. As I was 82 years of age last November, I must not grumble but before this accident I was able to do many things I can't do now.

I hope you will have a happy stay in Indonesia and be able to do a lot of good work for the United Nations.

You will, I am sure, be glad to get back for a holiday at any rate to this once very happy and prosperous State of Mysore.

Colonel Crawford had been ailing for some time, and passed away at his estate - Hiravati - on April 15, 1951, after a heart attack in his eighty-third year. He always wanted to be there at the end. He died happily and was buried at Chickmagalur. "We shall miss him", an English friend of his wrote to me, "for he was a remarkable man in many ways, but I am happy to think that, at least, in Munzerabad, his name will live in the Crawford Hospital where so much good is being done every day and only really made possible by his energy and gifts."

The Hospital referred to by ~~his friend~~ was built in my time by Government. ~~Colonel Crawford~~ contributed Rs. two lakhs towards the cost and ~~it was named after him and~~ I had an oil painting of him put up in the entrance hall. ~~Colonel Crawford~~ He also made ~~another~~ a handsome contribution to the University Convocation Hall in Mysore, and it appropriately bears his name, ~~a name~~ one which will ever be held in grateful remembrance for many years by the people of Mysore. I miss him very much.

My relations with most of the Residents were very friendly and with several of them of a most cordial character. The most notable among them were Sir Stuart Fraser, Sir Hugh Daly, Sir William Bardon, Sir Steuart Pears, and Colonel C.T.C. Plowden.

Sir Charles Todhunter and I worked together throughout my term of office as Dewan for over fifteen years. He was appointed Private Secretary to His Highness in 1926 on my recommendation, as I felt that a man of his great experience and ability would be useful both to His Highness and to me, as he proved to be. There was strong opposition at first from the Government of India to his appointment. ~~Their objection was based upon~~ On the ground that Sir Charles was too senior an officer of the Indian Civil Service, albeit retired, to occupy the post of Private Secretary to the Maharaja. It had to be explained to them that the status of the Private Secretary was a high one in Mysore, namely, that of a Member of the Executive Council, and there was, therefore, nothing derogatory in his occupying the post. Sir Charles had acted as Governor of Madras for a short time. He was the senior Member of the Madras Executive Council at the time of his retirement.

There was a certain gentleness - almost diffidence - in him which won regard just as his great ability and phenomenal labours earned respect. The surest way of pleasing him was to ask him to do some work for you and

he would do it with the greatest pleasure. Nothing was too small or too big or difficult for him. I am sorry to say that we fell out towards the end. His advice to the young Maharaja, turning down my proposal for the establishment of an automobile factory in Bangalore led to my resignation. That was the immediate cause, but I was beginning to feel that my other schemes, too, were likely to meet with no better fate. In such an atmosphere of hostility & obstruction, it was hardly worth while continuing in office, although I had still eighteen months of my term to my credit. Conservatives by nature, Todhunter disliked intensely the starting of big industries even when they were found to be necessary. But we became friends again some years later and I once more freely sought his help, even after I left Mysore.

His last days in Mysore as Private Secretary were not very happy. His services were terminated in an abrupt manner and no further notice was taken of him although he was living on an estate quite close to Bangalore. The death in 1945 of his wife left him a lonely figure and he went away to settle down in Jersey, Channel Islands, where he died of heart failure on March 1, 1949 at the age of 80. I was looking forward to visiting him in Jersey, when I went to England in May of that year, and was grieved to learn of his sudden death. He had a slight heart attack. His doctor warned him to take things more easily for a time. He felt better and as a result could not be persuaded to rest enough. He had another short heart attack and passed away in his sleep. Sir Charles used to join us in lamenting the late Maharaja's obstinacy in not listening to his doctors and taking more rest - exactly what he would not do himself. Obviously his hour had struck.

Mrs. M.C. Rowntree, his neice wrote: My uncle spoke of you constantly.

Mr. S.E. (later Sir Steuart) - Pears was Resident in Mysore from 1925 to 1928. He was Sir William Barton's brother-in-law and that was a sufficient passport to close friendship between us. I felt his departure very much when he was appointed as Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province. I asked him if he was not sorry to leave Mysore and go back to that wild and dreary country again. He said - No. He loved the Pathan and the Frontier and that was where he wanted to finish off his Indian career. He took a promise from me that I would telegraph to him whenever I went to New Delhi so that he might try to meet me there. He was a good friend of the State. He fought hard and successfully to get the annual subsidy reduced and subsidised. He had completely identified himself with the State and we came to look upon him as our own man rather than the Government of India's.

There was, however, one difficulty with him from our point of view and that was in connection with the ceremonial at the Dasara Durbar. He had strong objection to the Resident and other European guests - including ladies - having to pass in front of the Maharaja's throne and to bow to him while he remained seated. This was a very old custom, dating back from the earliest days, but no amount of argument would convince Mr. Pears that there was really nothing derogatory to the dignity of the Resident or the other

European guests, in bowing to the Maharaja while he remained seated, cross-legged in oriental fashion on his throne, since it was obviously impossible for His Highness to stand up on the throne. Somehow, he could not see our point of view and did not cease grumbling. His Highness thought he should ~~ask~~ the Viceroy for a ruling, so that the dispute could be ~~ended once for all~~ settled. I accordingly proceeded to Simla, after informing Mr. Pears of the purpose of my visit. Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, was acting as Viceroy and having been a spectator of several Durbars himself, he could understand and appreciate our view point fully. I made our representation and the question was decided in our favour, as I had no doubt it would be. I came back and informed Mr. Pears and congratulated him on our success. I said to him I was glad, for his sake too, that he had lost, because otherwise his relations with His Highness would not have been the same. He just shrugged his shoulders and said he had to do what he thought right and would not worry any more. ~~I wonder how many people would have taken~~ their defeat in such good part. Our friendship did not suffer in the slightest degree. Indeed, it received a new fillip and we got to like him more than ever. ~~This incident shows the great man he was — there was nothing~~ mean or petty-minded about him.

He said to me one day that there were three persons in the world whom he loved most - Mrs. Pears, her brother Sir William Barton, and myself.

We had a "club" of our own - composed of only the three of us. I had to turn up regularly at least two or three times a week. Otherwise, he would tell me that he was coming round to fetch me.

With a Resident like him and a gem of a Maharaja, my happiness was complete, not to mention a most kindly Viceroy in New Delhi. I knew I could always run up to New Delhi and be sure of a sympathetic hearing from Lord Irwin.

Mr. Pears did not live long after going to Peshawar. He died as a result of an extraordinary accident while out on a walk. Lady Pears and he with their dogs, were walking along a foot-path on the side of a steep hill, Lady Pears was just ahead of him. She heard a noise and the next moment she saw her husband at the bottom of the hill lying dead. An officer of outstanding qualities and a great gentleman thus ended his earthly career, lamented by all who knew him.

I found a very affectionate friend in Rev. Father Lingi Ambruzzi, an Italian Jesuit Priest, who was for some time Principal of St. Joseph's College in Bangalore. He had to leave because the Residency somehow came to dislike him. He was an excellent Principal and most enthusiastic in his work. He stayed with me as my guest in Mysore during every Dassara Festival. I was extremely sorry when he left. ~~It was a great joy~~ to me to hear from him from Trieste after a long time:

> You surely will wonder at this letter, he wrote, after more than eleven years. Well, I can in all sincerity say that, of the few things that cheered me up in the hard times we have gone through, one of the most interesting was the thought of you, of your noble and self-sacrificing

life, and of the kindness you have so often shown to me. And, when at God's Altar, every day I prayed for you, for your family, and for your work.

My work, in Italy, has been of a very humble nature, though of some importance. For a year and a half I was Programme Director at the Vatican Radio in Rome. Then Director of our Mission Review in Venice, and, since 1947 Superior of the Jesuit House in Trieste and Parish Priest of a newly erected Parish - a very heavy work for a man who is nearing 70.

How glad I would be if I could see, once more, dear India and in many friends I had there - you, dear Sir Mirza, first of all! Well let me at least hope that we shall meet in the Land of Eternal Joy!

Sir Frank Noyce, who was a Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet (if I may so call it) wrote in March 1937:

Omit

I feel that I cannot leave India without sending you a line of farewell. I am frankly not sorry to go, for five years of a Member of Council's life is enough for any man and I am very tired. But I am sorry - very sorry indeed to be leaving many good friends behind and in the list of them you have reached very high. I shall always look back with the greatest pleasure to that wonderful time you gave me in Mysore. I think it was the happiest three days I have had in India in the last five years. I value our connection during my time as Member of the Government of India more than I can say. I can only hope that you will not forget us and that we shall have the very great pleasure of seeing you in our home in England some day.

Please give my respectful farewell to His Highness. May Mysore continue to prosper and be a source of strength to India which will badly need it in the difficult days ahead.

Major-General William Crozier and Mrs. Crozier (of U.S.A.) visited Mysore in 1925 and from that time until his death twenty years later, we frequently corresponded ~~with one another~~. He used to write long and most interesting letters, giving his impressions of the countries they visited and his comments on world events. ~~I shall quote some extracts from~~ a letter he ~~wrote to me on January 6~~. 1938:

Omit

In looking over your letter from the P. & O. s.s. STRATHMORE, I am impressed with the accuracy with which your forecast has worked out with reference to the international situation, in the considerable time which has elapsed since you made it. Germany, Italy and Japan have come together in a pact which is declared to be anti-communist, but which some people believe to be anti-Russian, with a leaning towards autocratic as against popular government, although a flaw in this belief exists in the nature of the Russian Government which is as autocratic as that of either of the first three powers. Though here again there is place for the rejoinder that, although Russia is at present entirely autocratic, her claim and aim is to be proletarian. So there is plenty of opportunity for wordy controversy, and the plainest view seems to be your own; that it is a case of Germany, Italy and Japan against England, France and Russia, irrespective of economic or political theories, and based on the interest of each nation as it sees it.

All of these highly controversial matters are just as acute as you estimated them a year and a half ago, and just as far from settlement.

I feel less hopeful of an orderly and peaceful world in the visible future than I have in a long time. I believe in the underlying idea of the League of Nations .....

My own country, not a member of the League but claiming to be devoted to the cause of peace, has been especially derelict in this respect .....

Now we have in Europe and northern Asia a state of affairs, which you foresaw, in which the views of Germany, Italy and Japan in regard to their interests place them in apparent antagonism to England, France and

Russia; and if this situation should become acute enough to lead to war there will be no sufficient strength left to apply the scheme of the League of Nations, and the scheme will fail; not through lack of willingness to apply it, as in the previous cases, but through lack of power. A real failure of the theory of the League; not simply a practical failure due to human frailty. If our peace machinery fails in both practice and theory there would see nothing for us to do except to prepare as best we may to follow the law of the jungle.

..... Your travelling acquaintance, Mr. Tinkham, is a very intelligent man; a Member of Congress from the State of Massachusetts; a strong Republican and of course opposed to the Democratic, Mr. Roosevelt. .....

We cherish a lively memory of the delightful visit you gave us.

I must not omit to mention ~~in this chapter~~ the name of a great Scottish lady whom I had the good fortune to meet first in London in 1931. Who did not know the late Honourable Mrs Ronald Greville, and who among the elite of London, in those days, did not enjoy her hospitality ? In ~~1931~~, I had the honour of spending a day at her country home in Surrey - Polesden Lacey. There I met many distinguished people - Sir Austen and Lady Chamberlain, Lord and Lady Reading, the French Ambassador and several other notables. I ~~remarked to Mrs Greville on the important people there. She said that I would never find any others in her house.~~ She was a born hostess and a shrewd judge of people. For nearly forty years she had a special place in London Society and was a redoubtable force in political circles, but at the same time an unassuming woman and a warm-hearted friend. She enjoyed the friendship of four generations of the Royal Family. King Edward VII, King George and Queen Mary, were frequent visitors at Polesden Lacey. The late King and Queen Elizabeth spent their honeymoon as the Duke and Duchess of York there. She was specially attached to the late King, and on her death she left her superb jewellery to Princess Margaret. She passed away in 1942, leaving Polesden Lacey as it stood, with her fine collection of Old Masters, China porcelain, period furniture, and her thousand acre estate, to the National Trust. It is now in the hands of the National Trust open to the public

Mrs. Greville visited Mysore in 1934. While walking through the Krishnaraj Sagar Gardens, she remarked to me - "Are not the other Princes jealous of Mysore!"

She wrote from Gajner (Bikaner) ~~in which she said~~: "I can never forget my visit to Mysore. It was to me a sheer delight, quite unforgettable, and your hospitality was marvellous, and I learnt so much from you. You were so interesting. I felt I had acquired a real friend, which is a very priceless asset, and I am so appreciative.

I came with the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, and we all go to Delhi to-day. It has been a very hectic visit. The Maharaja (of Bikaner) had a review, unveiling of a monument, and a banquet and performance Saturday & and we all moved here Sunday. I marvel at his stupendous energy. He is a very kind host. I came to Bikaner from Jaipur. So you see I have been on the rush all the time but I always think of Mysore and I have told His Excellency all I admired and enjoyed.

I do hope you will come to Delhi before I leave. I think I will leave 9th or 10th. Their Excellencies go to Kapurthala and I shall go to Baroda en route to Bombay from where I sail 12th. Again many thanks.

She wrote again from Bombay -- I have just arrived from Baroda, my dear friend, and am sailing in an hour, but I have found your kind

letter and cannot sail without again thanking you for all your kindness to me and how happy you made me. I have enjoyed our talks. I shall never forget Mysore and my dear friend there.

Lord Birdwood was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1928 ~~till~~ 1933. A most friendly and obliging man he was. He took a keen personal interest in Mysore, ~~as an extract from his letter given below shows,~~ and helped me in getting the Military Rifle Range shifted from the vicinity of the Palace to its present site on Cossoor Road. He was also helpful in settling the water supply question with the Government of India. I carried on correspondence with him in these matters over the head of the Resident. ~~In a letter from him on August 17, 1921, he wrote among other things~~ and he was most anxious to help

I also mentioned to His Highness that on getting back to Simla, I at once went to the Railway Department about the question of a connection from Chamarajnagar to the South Indian Railway. I told His Highness that all I had been able to hear from the Railway Board at present was that they promised the proposal will be fully examined as soon as they received a report they are expecting from the S.I.R. I fear they rather feel that the construction would be a very costly one without much chance of a volume of traffic such as would make it a sound business proposition. However, we can only see what may eventuate over this.

Lord Birdwood was perhaps the most popular Commander-in-Chief India ever had in the British days.

The Railway connection referred to in Lord Birdwood's letter has not yet been sanctioned, but there is more likelihood now of its being sanctioned, in the absence of conflicting interests of the former two different railways, the Madras and Southern Mahratta and the South Indian, the latter being in favour of the proposal but not the former. This link is so obviously necessary in public interests that it is surprising that it should not have been undertaken yet.

I have come into fairly intimate contact with two of America's Ambassadors abroad, Mr. Loy Henderson in India and Mr. Merle Cochran in Indonesia, for both of whom I entertain a warm regard. Statesmen ~~such as these two~~ are an asset to any country. The United States is fortunate in having two such men to represent her abroad. I am under a deep obligation to Mr. Cochran for all his kindness to me in Jakarta. I admired him for his skill as a diplomat and for his goodness as a man. No wonder he is so popular in Indonesia.

Sir Alexander Mackintosh, who made a name and a record for himself as a parliamentary journalist, ~~was one of those who suggested to me~~ long ago should write my memoirs. ~~Sir Alexander was father of my friend~~, A.B. Mackintosh, who worked for many years in the Mysore Educational Service, and who was Principal successively of the Maharaja's College in Mysore and of the Central College in Bangalore and retired after a distinguished service of more than 30 years.

I hope, Sir Alexander wrote ~~under date~~ August 31, 1941, you will be happy in your retirement. You deserve rest, but I am sure you will

not be idle. Perhaps you should write your memoirs, as I am writing mine Yours would be read with great interest here.

The British Press had appreciative notices of your work on the announcement of your retirement. It is recognised that you have been of great service not only to Mysore, where you have built up a model State but also to all-India

Sir Alexander's memoirs were published in 1946 under the title "Echoes of Big Ben". He looked back sixty years in his Parliamentary Recollections. For fifty-eight years he was a constant occupant of the Press Gallery. He watched five generations passing through the Lobby, and ever since, at the age of eighty, he gave up his every day attendance in 1938, he has visited the House frequently. ~~It is a most interesting book and I enjoyed reading it.~~

~~I do not know if I should mention~~ the late Miss Katherine Mayo who ~~as one of my~~ a friend, whose memory I cherish. ~~But I feel that~~. We came to know each other when she visited Mysore in 1925 and it was through her that I got into touch with the Rockefeller Foundation and obtained help from them in our fight against malaria and in the improvement of public health generally. We were the first in India to avail ourselves of the aid of this great organization which, faithful to the tradition of its own country, is rendering yeoman service in the cause of human welfare. Her book "Mother India" was not popular in India but I knew that she meant well and was trying to render a service to the country by exposing the shackles, as she said, which bound her down and prevented her from making progress.

I quote some extracts from her letters - ~~(She was apparently no great admirer of Mr. F.D. Roosevelt and his policy)~~ -

My book, she wrote on July 3, 1926, to be of any real use, must be absolutely frank; for I believe that the policy of stating things as they should be, rather than things as they are, although sometimes useful, would not be useful here. And frank speaking does not always commend itself to the subject thereof! But India's future is in her own hands, not in those of Britain. She alone can give herself power over her own affairs; but not until she has looked her affairs square in the face, and weighed and balanced their elements. I dare to hope that I may be able to contribute a little material towards such an estimate.

Again on July 17, 1937: - I am always thankful that I have actually seen Mysore - or some of it - for that, somehow, brings into the concrete what otherwise might have seemed, possibly, a hope and a theory .....

Doing all that should be done as far as it can be soundly done; and doing it in the way that truly belongs to country, history and human character. May God give you many long years of health and prosperity. I want to be able to think of you so long as I live.

Frank:

If you knew more closely than perhaps you can, at such a distance, the political and economic conditions of this country, you could not but be thereby the more greatly shocked. It is a real feat to have got so good and so rich a land, so favoured by Nature, into such an infamous mess. The President's own party is riven asunder, now - tardily - as he goes from offence to offence; and opposition only drives him to greater monstrosities ..... I think the Senators now in revolt will not come to heel again; but they may easily pay their political lives for their daring to cross a fantastically vindictive man. Does this sound unpatriotic to you ?

In her letter dated July 1, 1939 - she said:-

..... may your State continue to enjoy the unique blessedness that it now enjoys.

What a mess is the rest of the world!

And last night this country's Congress did what it could to make worse of it by its treatment of the neutrality measure - a measure that, I think, should have been wiped out altogether for a return to international law .....

The Royal visit really was a huge success. Nothing could exaggerate the fact in the way of strong statement. The Queen's charm, which no one either could or would resist, and the King's simple and serious bearing went to all hearts, even the most resistantly proletarian. And the fatigue that both endured without losing their vitality and friendly freshness amazed all observers.

I think of Mysore as of The Happy Land ..... Would that I could see both it and you again ?

CHAPTER III.

MAHARAJA SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR OF MYSORE.

Born in June 1884, the Maharaja was installed on his throne at the early age of eleven years and six months on the untimely death of his father in Calcutta in 1894; his mother was proclaimed Maharani-Regent.

She was a remarkable lady. Although ~~quite young~~ she was only 26 when she became Regent ~~,~~ she proved a very capable ruler, ~~and~~ administered the State with the help of the Executive Council in a manner which won praise for her from every quarter.

On his first visit to Mysore in 1900, Lord Curzon met the Maharani, who ~~received him~~ was received by in the Palace along with her five children, two sons and three daughters. He remarked to the Yuvaraja, the Maharaja's younger brother, when he met him years later in London, that that picture of a young mother surrounded by her children would never fade from his memory.

The late Sir Evan Maconochie, who was the Maharaja's first Private Secretary, refers to her in his very interesting book "Life in the Indian Civil Service" as follows:- ~~(He was the Maharaja's first Private Secretary).~~

> A word of tribute is due to Her Highness the Maharani, late Regent. A certain clinging to power would have been more than excusable on the part of a lady of character and education, who for the six years of her son's minority, had ruled the State. But I can say that never, during these seven years that I spent in Mysore, was I aware of the faintest indication on her part of a desire to intrude, even in minor personal matters, upon her son's domain. Dignity and good sense could go no further.
>
> The Maharaja was devoted to his mother. She enjoyed the same position in the Palace as she did as Regent, lived in the same suite of rooms as before, and received every mark of respect from her son.

THE MAHARAJA'S INVESTITURAL PRINCES OF INDIA.

On completion of his eighteenth year, the Maharaja ~~Sri Krishnaraj Wadiyar~~ was invested with full ruling powers by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon. on August 15, 1902 ~~who came himself from Simla for the ceremony. That was his second visit to the State, a proof of the keen personal interest he took in Mysore and the Ruling Family.~~ The speeches ~~delivered~~ of the Viceroy on that occasion and the young Maharaja's reply were deeply impressive ~~are worth reproducing and I do so below. I was present at the Durbar and retain to this day a vivid recollection of the impressive ceremony.~~ The Viceroy ~~made a deep impression on all by his~~ made a strong appeal & his audience dignified bearing and ~~by~~ his eloquence. He was undoubtedly a great Viceroy and a remarkably fine administrator. The Viceroy

Some years later, at a State banquet in 1910, the Maharaja referred to the debt of gratitude he owed to Sir Stuart Fraser, his Tutor and Governor, "for the care and devotion which he displayed during my boyhood and early manhood, and to which I mainly owe any small measure of success that I may have attained in my work of administration".

~~The installation of the Maharaja took place in Mysore on~~ August 8, 1902. ~~The Viceroy took special pains to invest it with all the circumstance and ceremonial of State. He~~ was escorted to the Durbar by a battery of artillery and the 4th Hussars, specially brought from Bangalore, and a

battalion of the Warwickshire Regiment from Belgaum furnished the guard of honour. The following description of the ceremony is taken from the Madras Mail of August 8, 1902:-

To-day's proceedings opened with the brilliant ceremony of installing the Maharajah in the gorgeous pavilion attached to the Jagan Mohun Palace, when His Highness was formally, and most impressively, invested with the full powers of administration by His Excellency the Viceroy. The inhabitants of the City fully realised the importance of the historic occasion, and turned out in thousands to see their young Maharajah take upon himself the duties and responsibilities of his high office. The streets were gorgeously decorated, and the approaches to the pavilion were lined with the Infantry and Cavalry of His Highness's army. The Royal Warwickshire supplied the Guard of Honour, with Band and Colours, at the entrance of the Durbar Hall, and saluted on the arrival of His Excellency the Viceroy, who was met at Government House by a Deputation, consisting of the Dewan and three principal Officers of the State. His Excellency was accompanied by Mr. J. Wood, Under-Secretary, Foreign Department, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble E. Baring, Military Secretary, Mr. Garnduff, and His Excellency's Personal Staff. The escort consisted of the 4th Hussars and 12th Battery Royal Field Artillery. The grand cortege as it passed through the crowded streets of the historic old town, excited much admiration from the inhabitants, unaccustomed to a sight of so large a British Force in their midst.

AT THE DURBAR HALL.

At the Durbar Hall, His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by the Hon'ble the Resident, and the principal nobles and officials of the State, was received with all the formalities prescribed for so elaborate a ceremonial. In the vestibule of the Durbar Hall a procession was formed, headed by the Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department, with His Excellency the Viceroy and the Maharajah bringing up the rear. It then entered the Hall, a second Guard of Honour of the Royal Warwickshires presenting arms, and the Band playing a stately march. A salute of 31 guns had been fired when the Viceroy left for the Durbar Hall, and at this stage a second salute was fired, while the band played the National Anthem. The huge gathering assembled in the beautiful pavilion remained standing while the distinguished participants in the solemn ceremonial took their seats in the front of the dais, which was splended in brocades and cloth of gold. On the left of the Viceroy were seated the Hon'ble the Resident and other British Officers and guests present, while on the right of His Excellency was the Maharajah, and beyond him the nobles, officials and native guests, in order of their rank and precedence. On the dais were two exceedingly handsome silver chairs to one of which the Maharajah was formally conducted by the Viceroy after being installed. The Durbar having been formally constituted, the proceedings commenced by the Viceroy's Address to the Maharajah which was afterwards translated.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency spoke as follows:-

Your Highness and Gentlemen, - This is the first time since I have been in India that I have been called upon personally to instal a Ruling Chief. It gives me the greatest pleasure that the Chief in whose case I am about to discharge these agreeable functions, should be one of whose career I have had such close opportunities of watching, and for whom I entertain so sincere a regard as the young Maharajah of Mysore. Indeed I think I may add that I should not have come all the way from Simla at this season of the year had I not felt the keenest personal interest both in this State and in its future Ruler. At the latter I shall have a word to say presently. But first let me explain how it is that the fortunes of the Mysore State occupy such a place in the concern and regard of the Government of India.

We can never forget that for 50 years this State was under British Administration, during which time it enjoyed the full benefits of the discipline and method and experience that are associated with the British system. At the end of that period a great experiment was made. The famous Rendition took place and the State was given back to its native rulers. It is interesting to recollect that the statesman who was mainly responsible for that act was the veteran Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, who only three weeks ago resigned the helm of affairs in England after

half a century of unsurpassed service to the State. It was a just and magnanimous act: but it was also, as I have said, a great experiment, for if the result had been failure then a cruel rebuff would have been administered to the generosity which dictated the proceeding and the cause of Native States and of Native Administration throughout India must have suffered a lasting recoil. The eyes of everyone therefore were directed upon Mysore to see how the venture would result and how far the State would justify the confidence reposed in it. I will not pretend that there have never been shades in the picture or that an unassailable standard has everywhere been maintained. In this world we talk about ideals more often than we realise them. But this I can unhesitatingly say, the State has been well served by the members of its ruling family and by faithful and patriotic Ministers. The first Dewan, Mr. Ranga Charlu, did not long survive the Rendition. But his successor, Sir Seshadri Iyer for 18 years wielded an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and that left its mark upon every branch of the administration. The late Maharajah - whose amiability and excellence of disposition endeared him to all, was unfortunately removed by a premature death while still in the prime of life. And since then Sir Seshadri Iyer had died also. Thus the old order has passed away and we stand on the threshold of a new era.

For nearly eight years there has been a minority, during which the Regency has been in the hands of H.H. the Maharanee Regent assisted by the Dewan and Council and relying upon the firm and constant support of the British Resident. As the head of the Government of India I have pleasure in stating that the smooth progress of events during the minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. It gives me pleasure to announce that in recognition of these services I have submitted to His Majesty The King-Emperor the request that he would allow Her Highness the salute of 19 guns to be continued to her for life, and that His Majesty has gladly consented to bestow upon Her Highness this exceptional mark of favour. It is our hope, now that she is retiring from the responsible position which she has so long and successfully filled, that she may observe the fruits of her sagacious example and may meet with the rewards of her motherly devotion in the conduct and career of her son.

I am thus brought to the circumstances that have led up to the ceremony of to-day. The young Maharajah whom I am about to instal has recently attained his 18th birthday. He has passed through a minority of nearly eight years. They have not been idle or years spent in enjoyment or dissipated to idleness. They have been years of careful preparations for the duties that lay before him and of laborious training for his exalted State. It is no light thing to assume the charge of 5,000,000 of people and it is no perfunctory training that is required for such a task. In Mr. Fraser we were fortunate enough to discover a Tutor and Governor thoroughly alive to the duties of his onerous position and well qualified to win the confidence as well as to waken the energies of his pupil. In Colonel Robertson the young Chief has met with a mentor as sympathetic as he was wise; and under this combined influence, assisted by those happy domestic associations to which I have before referred, we have seen the natural good judgment and sound sense of the Maharajah develop by steady degrees until we feel satisfied of his capacity to assume the full and final responsibility of the government of men. He has made frequent tours among his people. He has studied their wants and needs at first hand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted. Fortified by this knowledge his naturally business-like habits and his instinctive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course. He will be assisted by a Dewan who has already earned confirmation in his responsible office and by two capable Councillors of State. He will have the advice of a Private Secretary whose abilities have specially recommended him for selection. The time, I hope, will never come when the Maharajah may also be unable to rely upon the support and counsel of the British Resident, to whom he should turn, not as a school master but as a protector and friend. Youth is his and health and strength. He enters upon a splendid heritage at an early age. May God guide him in this great undertaking and speed him on the straight path.

And now, Maharajah, I turn to you, and I venture to address to you a few words. Pray do not think that I am going to read you a lecture. Rulers are not made virtuous by installation homilies, but by the instincts

fore us, the future only can show; but it is a comfort to me to feel that of their nature, by a diligent training and by a willingness to profit by the wisdom and experience of others. There was a learned French priest named Fenelon who was especially engaged to give lectures in the art of rule to the grandson of Louis XIV of France. But I am sorry to say that the young man was no better at the end than at the beginning. Similarly we know that all the precepts of the wisest of men, King Solomon, left no impression upon his son. I am not going therefore to give you a text-book of moral maxims. I will only ask you to remember this, the young man of 18 who becomes a Ruler enjoys one of the noblest opportunities but also one of the greatest responsibilities in the world. Upon you to a large extent will depend the happiness and comfort of several millions of your fellow creatures who already look up to you with reverence, who, if you rule well, will regard you with devotion, but if you rule badly with indifference and despair. You are put in this place not for your own sake, to think that is the greatest of all human errors but for theirs. If you act conscientiously and dutifully you may leave a name that will live for generations in the memory of your people. If you throw away your chances and become a sluggard or worse, your name will be written in water and your memory will pass like a puff of smoke from the minds of men. Therefore, I beg you at this turning point of your life to remember these things. Put your heart in your work. Be just. Be courageous. Be merciful to the lowly. Be considerate to all. Work as though you were going to live not for 50 years but for 5; for duty, believe me, cannot afford to loiter and there ought to be no blank spaces in a ruler's diary. For my own part I shall always look back upon having installed you as one of the pleasantest memories of my term of office. While I am here you know that you can count upon my confidence and support, and when I am gone and other Viceroys come here to visit you in Mysore, I shall hope to hear from them that you have fulfilled the bright expectations of your youth, and that you are yearly marching forward from strength to strength.

are not less deep-felt, if they are less numerous, than those which

The Maharaja was then formally led to the dais and installed on the musnad by the Viceroy, the Foreign Secretary having read in full Durbar the titles of His Highness. The latter was then invested with full powers of administration, the conclusion of which was signalised by a salute of 21 guns being fired from the Fort, while the Band played the Mysore Anthem.

and

The khillat was then brought in and conferred on the Maharajah, who replied as follows to the Viceroy's address -

Your Excellency, It is with feelings of no mere conventional loyalty and gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor and gratitude to yourself, his representative, that I acknowledge the great honour conferred upon me in receiving at your Excellency's hands the charge of my State this day. The history of Mysore, with the romantic fortunes of our ancient dynasty, must ever inspire in its ruler a feeling of gratitude to the British Throne, which adds, I think, a special quality to the allegiance which it is my first duty to publicly tender to the person of His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII. The restoration of His Majesty to health by God's goodness is nowhere in the British Empire hailed with more heartfelt thankfulness than in the loyal State of Mysore. To Your Excellency I owe something more than ordinary thanks. In common with the rest of the Chiefs of India I am indebted to Your Excellency for the many acts by which you have proved yourself to be our friend, most of all perhaps for the ennobling ideal of duty ever held up before us; and the words of weighty advice which Your Excellency has now address to me will, believe me, sink the deeper into my mind from the example and authority of the illustrious Viceroy who has uttered them. But more than this, I am under a particular and personal obligation to Your Excellency for the distinction bestowed upon me by this second visit to Mysore. It has been undertaken with a special view to making me to take,

the day of In gratefully acknowledging the sacrifice entailed on Your Excellency I would venture to assure Your Excellency that I shall never forge the honour done me on this the most important day of my career. How great important are the responsibilities which now devolve upon me I fully realise, and this it is my ambition to prove by performance rather than by words. The inheritance to which I succeed is no ordinary one, and I appreciate what Mysore owes to the administration of wise statesmen and the care of the British Government under the Regency of my revered mother. But at the same time I know full well that I cannot rest on the laurels won by others, and that my utmost efforts are needed, not only to maintain for my subjects the benefits they already enjoy, but to press onward to a yet higher standard of efficiency. How far I may be granted the ability to cope with the problems

before me, the future only can show; but it is a comfort to me to feel that I shall, for some time at any rate, enjoy the assistance of my well-proved friend, the Hon'ble Colonel Donald Robertson, as Resident. Speaking with all diffidence, I am able to say that I begin my task with some knowledge of its difficulties - thanks to the education I have received from Mr. Fraser to whom I hope to prove that his labours for the past six years have not been without fruit. This much, at any rate, can confidently be affirmed that the desire and the effort to succeed shall not be lacking. I have now seen a great deal of my State with its beautiful country and its loyal people, and it would be a poor heart, indeed, that was not filled with pride and love for such an inheritance. May Heaven grant me, the ability, as well as the ambition, to make a full and wise use of the great opportunities of my position and to govern without fear or favour for the lasting happiness of my people.

I give below extracts from the leading article on the installation that appeared in the same paper. It is interesting for more reasons than one. It indicates the great importance attached to the Indian States, rather I should say, to the Ruling Princes of India by both the British Government and their countrymen alike:

THE MYSORE INSTALLATION.

To-day is Mysore's Coronation Day, and the eyes and minds of all Mysoreans have been turned to the youthful ruler who was installed this morning on the gadi of his fathers by the representative of the King-Emperor and of the Paramount Power. That His Highness's accession to power has been greeted with enthusiasm by his subjects goes without saying, and doubtless from many a Mysore temple to-day, as from many a Mysore heart, prayers to God have gone up for the long life and prosperity for the young Prince who has now assumed the burdens and responsibilities as well as the honours and privileges of rule - prayers that are not less deep-felt, if they are less numerous, than those which will be uttered tomorrow in all parts of the British Empire on behalf of the King-Emperor on the occasion of His Majesty's Coronation.

No more striking proof could be given of the importance attached to the auspicious event in Mysore by the supreme authority in India than the long and troublesome journey which His Excellency the Viceroy has taken, at this season of the year, in order to perform the imposing ceremony himself, Lord Curzon, we know, from what he said in his striking address of the ceremony this morning, has taken the keenest personal interest in the promising young Prince who has just attained his majority and also in the flourishing and progressive State to which he has succeeded. Remembering as one may, the special concern which Lord Curzon has displayed throughout his term of office in the up-bringing and welfare of the Ruling Princes of India, and especially of the young scions of Ruling families, we may take it that His Excellency has felt a peculiar pleasure in inaugurating the new regime in Mysore and in providing that so large and direct a share in the actual administration of affairs shall be assigned to the Maharaja himself. The address delivered by His Excellency during the course of the installation ceremony will be read with keen interest and pleasure, not only in Mysore, but in every Native State in India. It sums up in lucid and admirable terms the policy of the Supreme Government, and it is full of sound advice not only for the Prince to whom it was addressed but for all the Ruling Princes of India generally. In fact, it is full of wisdom and sympathy and in all respects worthy of the occasion which called it forth.

We have already, in our leading article of Monday last, explained how well fitted the Young Maharaja apparently is, both by training and character, to take his inherited place at the head of Mysore affairs. Indeed, His Highness's up-bringing has been such as no other Native Chief in India has received. It has been undertaken with a special view to enabling him to take, from the day of his installation on the gadi, an active and very real part in the administration of his State, and if in the opinion of the Resident, Colonel Robertson, the Dewan Mr. Krishna Murti, and his Guardian and Tutor Mr. Stuart Fraser, this training had not achieved its end, the constitution would certainly not have been framed as it has been; for under the Mysore Act of Rendition a much wider latitude in such matters is reserved for the Supreme Government than is the case with any other Native State.

As regards the kind of education which His Highness has received, we have already pointed out how in addition to the ordinary class subjects and accomplishments he has had to learn such abstruse and difficult subjects as the theory and principle of Law, the Revenue Laws which govern his State, the theory and principles of Government, etc. This portion of his studies has been given

practical application by tours throughout the length and breadth of his State and also through India, where the problems arising out of his studies have been practically encountered and explained. This, perhaps, has been done with other Indian Princes, but hitherto it has too often been the case that young Chiefs who had thus been instructed were thought fit to "gang their own gait" from the beginning. The Chiefs under these circumstances may have been well meaning and enthusiastic enough in starting and may have conscientiously tried to tackle the work that came before them; but in many instances they have soon found that the technical and other difficulties connected with the matters on which they have to pass orders were too much for them, and often, after a few further attempts, they have decided to let things slide and allow their Dewans or Prime Ministers to do all the work.

In the present case this mistake will not occur, as the young Maharaja has been provided with an exceptionally able Private Secretary, who will be able to lighten his labours for him from the outset, and while relieving His Highness from the drudgery of the work, will help him to come to a right decision on the many subjects that will come before him. It is only right to assume that this decision will in the majority of instances coincide with that of the Dewan and Councillors, because being men of experience with a stake in administration, they are bound to know what they are about, and do their best for the State. If they did not, they would not be in a position in which they are.

The Ruling Princes ~~and~~ enjoyed a privileged position under the British and received, on the whole, just treatment at their hands. A few States ceased to exist on the application of the doctrine of "Lapse" by Lord Dalhousie. ~~That was [illegible]~~. ~~After~~ with, the British Government's policy ~~[illegible]~~ consistently friendly ~~to them~~. But where they went wrong was in upholding, even, if I may say so, in encouraging personal and autocratic rule. ~~The Political Department~~ discouraged any attempt made to associate the people of the State in the administration and to make it responsive, not responsible, to their wishes. This was my experience in Mysore, and even more so in Jaipur, where I came into direct conflict with the Political Department on this issue, and had it not been for the strong support of the Maharaja, I should have had to come away from Jaipur. If only the Political Department had encouraged the development of constitutional government in the States and the curtailment of the rulers' autocratic powers, the Princes might probably not have suffered as they have done once British protection was withdrawn and they were faced with an avalanche of popular agitation both from inside and outside their States. ~~I think it is no exaggeration to say that~~ The Indian States have ceased to exist as such and those who were Ruling Princes are now no more than so many "Princes of Arcot" - mere political pensioners. They are no longer a force in the affairs of their country.

Subsequent events have shown that the rule of the Princes, even though in many cases it was of an autocratic nature, was more popular than that of the popular ministries that have supplanted them. If people's contentment and happiness were the determining factors in the form of Government, the people of Jodhpur should have had their former ruler restored to them after the recent general elections when they declared themselves so emphatically in favour of the Prince as against the popular Chief Minister who ~~was~~ had stood against him. There is no doubt, would have been the result in most other States, too.

As constitutional heads of their States, the Princes could have played a most useful part in the development of the country on peaceful and progressive lines, and would have proved useful allies of the Central Government.

particularly in these days of hazardous world conditions when Communism is spreading its tentacles on all sides. Not a few of the Princes, such as the former Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda and Bikanir, the Nawab of Bhopal, the Maharajas of Travancore and Jaipur and Bhavnagar - to name only the most notable among them - had been outstanding examples of the value of that personal and paternal rule which is by tradition and habit so well suited to the mind of the Indian peasantry and the public. The present policy of the Government has resulted in antagonising or eliminating a stable element and a stabilising influence in the country. If tiny Coorg could be a self-governing State in the India of to-day with all the paraphernalia of modern democracy - a Ministry and a legislature of its own - why not what was once the second most important State in India - Baroda ? Or Bhopal, Indore, Jaipur or Kolhapur and so many other States for that matter ? Delhi and Ajmer are two other States that have been recently created, both absurdly small to be called States.

Mahatma Gandhi once said to me that the Princes of India were under the impression that he was not well-disposed towards them, but they would realize, when he was no more, that he was a true friend and meant well by them. All that he asked of them was that they should become constitutional heads of their States and let their people govern themselves under their aegis. Writing on the 19th March, 1941, Gandhiji said, among other things, that,

> I am the only true friend among public men of the Princes. This is a high but true claim.
>
> You are about to leave; in your retirement you will be doing useful service. May you have many years before you and may you be an instrument for doing some truly big work.
>
> Your sandal-wood box is always by my side and holds my odds and ends.
>
> ~~This is a personal letter. I am not copying it. I have not written for public use. Nor do I expect a reply unless you feel like sending one.~~ My love to all the members of the family.

Mr. John Gunther in his book, Inside Asia describes the Maharaja as a recluse and an ascetic, steeped in orthodoxy. That is not a true description of him. A man who was fond of horse-riding, racing, hunting, motoring and music, one who took keen interest in gardening, town-planning and farming, could not be much of a recluse. He was an expert in organizing tiger-shooting and the kheddas (elephant catching operations). A remarkably versatile man, he found pleasure and interest in so many more things in life than the average man does.

Mr. Henry Baerlin, the well-known author, reviewing Mrs Maud Diver's book on India in John of London's Weekly, December 4, 1942, says this of His Highness:

> a saintly man indeed, as Mrs Diver remarks ..... he had made Mysore the model State of India.

The Maharaja's kindliness was demonstrated when he said to me one day that he would have liked to dispose of the oldest of his eight Rolls-Royce cars - he had over sixty cars of all kinds and forty-one chauffeurs - but that ancient one looked at him pathetically and indicated that it had served him well

for some twenty years and asked only to be allowed to continue in his service. "So, of course", he said, "I cannot put it away."

He was kind to his old servants and hated the idea of retiring them even when this had to be done in public interest. They were sent away on full pay as pension. This he did in the case of Palace officials not those in Government service, who were governed by much stricter rules.

During all the forty-five years I was associated with him, first as his class-mate, and subsequently as an official in his service, never did he rebuke me, not that I did not deserve it. He saw in my house an old servant of mine whom he had seen some years before. He remarked to me that he was glad to see him still with me. He did not like any of his officers leaving Mysore Service and taking up employment elsewhere. He wanted Mysore Service to be made so attractive that no officer would be tempted to leave it.

The following letter from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, written on August 8, 1934, gave her impression of both the Maharaja and his State.

> I cannot thank you sufficiently for having arranged this delightful visit to Mysore. I have in my very varied experience, seldom spent three days so full of interest, instruction and enjoyment. En route from Bangalore our journey was punctuated with fruit and flower offerings, addresses and presentations. I saw the Silk Farm, the Chennapatna Industrial School, the Harijan Colony and the old temple before reaching Sivasamudram. There I was deeply impressed both by the actual achievement and the range of indigenous talent employed in its construction. The Krishnarajasagara charmed us with its beauty, especially when the Persian gardens of your designing were lit up in rainbow coloured sprays and arches, sheets and columns of living water. At Mysore we have spent two days crammed with engagements. Besides seeing all the local sights, including of course the Chamundi Hill, my time was crowded with what Americans call "dates". I gave five addresses:- to the Ladies' College, the Mahila Samaja, the Maharaja's College, to the Muslim Community and at the Town Hall.
>
> The Yuvaraja and his charming family entertained us to tea and music, and we had a brief interview with His Highness whose simplicity and sweetness only serve to emphasise the real kingliness of his personality. My young daughter who is seldom impressed by any one (it is the acuity of her critical (childish!)) came back full of enthusiasm and admiration. His Highness spoke of you and your devotion to the State with great appreciation. Indeed, everywhere I have heard nothing but praise of your dynamic and creative devotion to Mysore and your endeavours in all directions of development.
>
> We are just about to set out on our homeward journey. But I felt that I should write you a little word of thanks before actually leaving the City of Beauty, Progress and Peace. All your officers have been very courteous and efficient guides and exponents.

It was characteristic of His Highness that he was never slow to praise or reward good work, and the way he expressed his appreciation was always so touching that one felt overwhelmed and abashed. He never missed an opportunity of patting one on the back. He was as quick in appreciating as he was slow in reproving. The following letter which he wrote to me on the 22nd May 1936 is a good illustration of his warmth of feeling towards those who served him loyally. Addressing me as "My dear Bhaijan!" – he wrote –

Sir After making a careful study of your budget estimates for 1936-37, I am forcibly reminded of several things you said in the outline of policy you gave to the Representative Assembly in introducing your first budget ten years ago, and also in your concluding remarks, in which you used the following words: "I regard the Office of Dewan less as an appointment than as a great mission of patriotic service. To His Highness I am bound by gratitude and life-long affection. His approval of such service as I may render the State is of paramount worth to me, and it can be secured only by patient labour for the prosperity and happiness of the people of Mysore"

I need hardly tell you how keenly I have watched during the past ten years the "patient labour" that has done such wonders for my people, in irrigation and electrical works, in roads and hospitals, in public buildings and gardens, in village uplift and commercial enterprise.

I feel that your budget notes take perhaps rather a pessimistic view of the fact that your persistent progress in all directions, in the face of a series of years of depression, has among its results a large increase in the liabilities of the State. And I think it is only right to tell you that, while I congratulate you most whole-heartedly on the amazing progress that the State has made under your wise guidance, I am not personally despondent about the increase in its indebtedness. New and critical times have called for new financial standards and methods. You have increased revenue by 40 lakhs without increasing the burdens of the people; the fall in the rates of interest has minimized the increase in your charges on that account; and I feel sure that, if an investigation were made, it would show an increase in the revenue-bearing assets of the State fully equal to the increase in the debt.

[Should have commercial enterprises in budget ?]

While you have been successful in so many departments, it is perhaps in your commercial enterprises that the most conspicuous results have been secured. You have, I hope and believe, converted the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works from a liability into an asset; you have made the Sugar Works into one of the leading enterprises in Southern India; and, I understand, have inspired the public with so much confidence in Mysore State enterprises that the capital for the new companies to make silk and paper is likely to be subscribed many times over. Your new idea of putting a 3 per cent. loan on tap for investment in enterprises that will more than pay their way involves a departure from old-fashioned financial precedents that is as bold as it deserves to be successful.

While thus congratulating you on your conspicuous success in the past ten years, I hope that it is only an earnest of the further benefits that your wise judgment, unflagging energy and "patient labour" will confer on me and on my people in the years to come.

Ever your devoted,
KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR.

The Maharaja was kind to all; he made no distinction between man and creed made. At one time, his Dewan was a Muslim, his Private Secretary, enjoying the status of a Minister, was an Englishman and a Protestant Christian, and his Huzur Secretary an Indian Roman Catholic. Several Catholic nuns from the local Convent worked in the Palace as teachers or companions to the ladies of the family. The atmosphere, not only in the Palace, but throughout the State, breathed the same spirit of tolerance and friendship between all inhabiting the State - all this was due to the extraordinary influence exercised by a wise and benevolent ruler by both precept and example. No one of any caste or creed could say that their attachment to his person and throne was

deep and sincere. His father and grandfather were likewise known for their broad-mindedness and sympathy. Although the latter had suffered at the hands of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, he was specially kind to his Muslim subjects. He built a mosque for them in his Capital and he did a Church for the Christian community. My grandfather had free access to him and enjoyed his patronage and friendship in a generous measure.

On October 28, 1933, the Maharaja laid the foundation-stone of the new Church of St. Philomena in Mysore. The Catholic citizens had approached the Maharaja with a petition to lay the foundation-stone, a request to which he had readily agreed.

In the petition, they reminded him that, in 1843, nearly a century more than ago, the old Church was the munificent gift of his grandfather. In the course of his speech, His Highness said -

> It gives me very great pleasure to come here to-day to lay the foundation-stone of the great new church which you have planned to erect here, and to associate with the name of your patron Saint, St. Philomena.
>
> I believe with deep conviction that religion is fundamental to the richest and strongest life of the nation. There are diverse religions in this land of ours, and frequently there exists a most irreligious hostility between them. But we have gradually been coming to understand that the unity is much deeper than the differences that while in creed and custom we are far enough apart, in worship and in aspiration we are one. This being so, the creed and custom of each religion among us is surely worthy of reverent study by the followers of every other.
>
> You have reminded me that your present church was built by my grandfather of revered memory ninety years ago, and it is interesting to recall the inscription that was put upon it then. It ran: "In the name of that only God - the Universal Lord, who creates, protects and reigns over the universe of light, the mundane world and the assemblage of all created lives - this church is built 1843 years after the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the Enlightenment of the world, as man".
>
> Throughout these many years the church thus dedicated has been the spiritual home of innumerable people, where in poverty and suffering they have found peace, and in trouble a wisdom that passes the mere understanding, so that every stone of it has become dear to them. There is some sadness in the thought of its disappearance, yet it is joy to think of the rising up of a worthier temple, to be brooded over by the same eternal spirit, and to remain for centuries a shrine of holiness and healing.
>
> The new church is nobly planned, and it will be built largely from the devout offerings of the very poor. This church indeed will be strongly and securely built upon a double foundation - divine compassion and the eager gratitude of men. Nor can I forget, as foot by foot, it rises, those devoted labours of the clergy without which it must have remained a dream.
>
> You, my Lord Bishop, have been associated with Mysore as a parish priest, and later in your present high office, for as many years as I can remember. To you and to your clergy the State and City of Mysore are indebted for countless deeds of charity and goodwill, and for endless effort for the enlightenment and uplift of the people. Yourselves you have long forgotten, but your labours cannot be hid, and this great building will be a memorial of heroic toil and sacrifice.
>
> May this Church of St. Philomena, the foundation-stone of which I now proceed to lay, be not merely the worthy centre of the spiritual life of your own Roman Catholic people, but also a fountain of peace and goodwill and the goal for all true service.

I sent a copy of the Maharaja's speech to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, whom I had met in London during the Round Table Conference days.

Let me thank you very warmly (he wrote) for your kindness in sending me a copy of the speech made by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at Laying of a foundation-stone of a Church for Ireadeit with very great appreciation of its lofty tone and spirit. His Grace seemed studiously vague about the occasion.

The Maharaja was extremely fond of hard exercise - too much so, in fact. He was not happy unless he sweated daily. That was the best way of keeping his weight down and keeping fit, he thought. He was particularly fond of mountain-climbing. He did the pilgrimage to Bhadrinath on the Himalayas on foot, and he went also to Manasasarovar in Tibet. He regularly played racquets; but did not care for squash which he thought was rather a slow game. All this violent exercise taken day after day, eventually told upon his health and weakened his heart.

On the morning of a severe heart attack, he had exercised five horses on the race course. When he fell ill, he would not give himself rest in bed inspite of his doctors' insistent advice. And he passed away after a short illness, leaving us to mourn the kindest master and the most lovable character that one could imagine.

To quote from a letter from Mrs McGann, wife of Colonel T.J. McGann who had been associated with the Ruling Family for sixty years and more:

I feel deeply for you - alas, you have lost your greatest friend.

I never thought he would pass away so quickly. I fear the long ride caused his death. I went to the Palace and saw the dead body. I felt my heart would snap.

The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, who never lost an opportunity of encouraging me or sympathising with me, as the occasion demanded, wrote -

How can the world be the same to you after the loss as before it ? The friendship between you was out of the common, I have always conceived it as belonging in part to the world of romance.

Desperate counsels may occur to you. I trust you won't harbour any such, but listen only to the clear voice of duty. So will you best please the man whose approbation was your greatest reward in life and whose love was your greatest blessing.

My best and most tender thoughts are with you.

I feel tempted to quote Sir Frank Noyce's letter also - August 3. 1941 from London -

I heard with deep grief the sad news last night on the wireless that His Highness had died yesterday at Bangalore. I came completely under the spell of his charming personality during those few days I spent in Mysore in 1936 - the happiest days I had during my lost service in India. He was a great ruler and a great gentleman, and his State and India are infinitely the poorer by his loss.

From my own sense of loss, I can realise something of what yours must be. You have lost a life-long friend, as well as a Prince whom it was a rare privilege to serve. Yours has been a wonderful association and it is sad indeed to think it is over. I most earnestly hope that your association with His Highness's successor will be as close and fruitful as with His Highness, but for you, of course, it cannot be the same.

In an article contributed to The Asiatic Review, London, soon after the Maharaja's death, Sir Stuart Fraser pays a handsome tribute to his former pupil:

The Mysore Administration Report for the year 1940-41, he wrote, records the closing of an era in the history of the State with the death on August 3, 1940, of H.H. the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., who "for thirty-seven years had guided the destinies of the State with great wisdom and beneficence, and had earned the love, admiration and respect not only of his seven million subjects, but of people throughout the length and breadth of India and overseas". He was succeeded by his nephew, H.H. Maharaja Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur. Nor was this the only notable change which marked the beginning of a new period in Mysore history. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E. retired from service as Dewan on June 1, 1941, and Rajamantrapravina N. Madhava Rau was appointed in his place.

The writer of his review owes his selection for the task to the fact that forty-six years ago it fell to him to be tutor and governor to

finer gentleman than your Maharaja, and ..... he gave me a darned good licking at squash!

Music was the Maharaja's great recreation, and when a lad he kept a variety of instruments in his room, on which he would pick out any tune that took his fancy. As a man he played the violin, kept up an English orchestra in his palace, and was a liberal patron of Indian music as well. Music remained his solace to the end.

His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur died peacefully at the age of 56, after 37 years of unsparing service to his State and people. Happily he was spared a long illness, the idea of which, as he told a friend, he dreaded lest he should give a great deal of trouble to others. And we may hope that his passing was eased by the presence beside him of the heir whom he had lovingly trained like a son for years past, against the day when he might be called upon to rule over Mysore.

The State was saved from another minority, for Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur was twenty-one years old when he succeeded to the gadi on August 29, 1940, an age which had enabled him to continue his studies up to university standards, to travel, and to learn something about administration. One hears nothing but good about His Highness's character and ability, and it may be confidently hoped that, choosing his advisers wisely as the late Maharaja always did, he will fulfil every expectation and prove equal to the responsibilities of his great heritage. Here is part of the message which he broadcast to his people:

"In succeeding to the throne of Mysore, I follow a great Ruler who loved you all and who won your love by his love of God, his wisdom, his graciousness, his humanity, his faithfulness to duty and his kingly greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of his great task. The world is very full of troubles today, and it is only by meeting these troubles in a spirit of unity that we can win through. In this spirit, I look upon this ceremony of ascending the throne of my ancestors as a dedication of myself, my life and all I have to the service of the people of Mysore. May God grant me light and strength in the discharge of the sacred duty entrusted to me, and may His blessings in abundance rest on and brighten every hearth and home in Mysore."

Like his uncle, His Highness is a staunch and loyal supporter of the British Government, as he has already proved in these days of trial by actions, some account of which is given below.

The same twelve months witnessed change not only in the Rulers, but in the Prime Ministers of Mysore State. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., who retired with effect from June 1, 1941, was far from being the least eminent of the distinguished Dewans by whom Mysore has had the good fortune to be served. The Administration Report records that --

"In bidding him farewell, His Highness the Maharaja expressed high appreciation of the eminent services which Sir Mirza Ismail had rendered to the State. Over a period of thirty-six years he had set an enduring example of zeal and devotion to duty. His wide knowledge, his far-seeing statesmanship, his abundant energy, his keen interest in everything that is for the good of the State, his outstanding success in developing its resources and his ready sympathy with the people of all classes and creeds have made his name and his achievements famous far beyond the confines of Mysore".

This was a worthy tribute to the many and great gifts which Sir Mirza devoted to the service of Mysore.

The present is not the occasion for any detailed account of the amazing progress, both in rural reconstruction and industrial development, which his drive and energy achieved during the three spells of office, totalling fifteen years, he served as the Prime Minister of his close friend, the late Maharaja. Sufficient here is the Indian saying: "What the wick and the oil are to the pure flame, the King and his Minister are to the governance of a State." If the Maharaja was happy in his Dewan, what other Minister ever had the fortune to serve a Ruler so free from any jealousy of his Minister's fame, and so selflessly glad to give him the credit for what the complete understanding between them accomplished ?

In Sir Mirza I made another friend from the days when he shared

On State occasions I was [illegible]
the young Maharaja's studies and we kept in touch, not only by correspondence, but personally during the time when he represented Mysore and other Indian States at the Round Table Conferences and as a delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London.

That calamity, the passing of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar for almost four decades our incomparable and beloved Ruler, plunged the State into inexpressible grief. Rarely has death caused so universal, so sincere, so heartfelt an expression of sorrow. Messages of sympathy came, not only from all parts of India, but from many other parts of the world. The void caused by his death was immeasureable. We knew that we had lost a truly great Ruler, a Ruler also whose greatness was universally recognised and acknowledged.

Purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, patience and tolerance - these were qualities which the Maharaja possessed in an eminent degree. A gentleman has been defined as one who never willingly inflicts pain. His late Highness was in that sense a perfect gentleman. It has been given to few to pass through life making only friends and no enemies. We, whose privilege it had been to live under his reign had, therefore, every reason to be proud of him. It is no exaggeration to say that history will accord his name among the greatest men that India has produced. At a memorial service held in London, Lord Samuel, in speaking of him, compared him to Asoka. I hope I may be pardoned for quoting from a private letter from the same eminent statesman to myself: "The Princes are few [Lord Samuel writes] either in our own day or in the past history, who have used the opportunities of their position so wisely and so well as he, or have conferred such great benefits on so vast a population". Another English friend, writing from England, said: "He was gold all through". To all his subjects, high or low, rich or poor, of all castes and creeds, our late Maharaja had become an object of almost sacred veneration. And yet he was no recluse. Indeed I cannot think of any branch of human activity in which he did not display a keen interest. He was a diligent student of religion and was devoted to the study of philosophy but he was no less interested in the practical affairs of life -- from political problems to town-planning and the care of gardens, from the efficiency and welfare of his troops to the fostering of the fine arts.

A devout Hindu, who lived his religion every day of his life, he had no antipathy to other religions but respected all. He was, indeed, a well-wisher of other creeds; he took genuine pleasure in helping others to practise their faiths. I had the unique privilege of being intimately associated with him for nearly half century. Never for a single moment in all that period did he give me the slightest reason to feel that he trusted me less or treated me differently because I was a follower of another faith.

The late Maharaja was the embodiment of tolerance, of patience and forbearance, of goodwill towards all. He gave back to his people, in one form or another, all and more than all that he received from them. His

personal wants were extremely few; he led a very simple and austere life. On State occasions there was pomp and splendour, such as was, perhaps, to be seen nowhere else in India, and there was no spectacle more brilliant in all India, and perhaps in the world than his Dassara Durbar. ~~There is nothing like it in the world", as Miss Marguerite Milward, a visiting sculptor, wrote to me.~~ But the pomp and splendour were intended for the enjoyment and benefit of his people, not for his own pleasure or glorification. In the words of the late Mrs Sarojini Naidu in a letter I have at the time

We all hoped that the Maharaja would live many years to guide and inspire the State. It was the misfortune of the State, nay, I should say of India, that he should have left us so soon and at such a critical time.

I cannot conclude this chapter without quoting a portion of the letter Mrs. Sarojini Naidu wrote to me, dated the 10th August 1940, expressing her grief at the death of His Highness:

> I did not write earlier because I knew there would be a storm of messages from all over the world to express the sorrow of all people for the passing of a noble and beloved ruler, who embodied in his own gracious person so many of the high traditional virtues of Kingship as interpreted by the ancients of our land.
>
> His Highness on the last occasion that I had the privilege of meeting him, paid a great tribute of affection and trust to you. "No Ruler has been so fortunate as I have been", he said. "My Dewan and I have been friends and companions for forty years and more".

****

CHAPTER II.

~~EARLY YEARS. AT SCHOOL WITH THE MAHARAJA - AS DEWAN - LORD WILLINGDON - KING GEORGE - CHURCH AND TEMPLE.~~

I started my English education at St. Patrick's School, Shoolay (Banga lore), which was not far from Richmond Town, Bangalore, where we lived, and after a year, I was transferred to the Wesleyan Mission High School in the City. I continued there until 1896, when I was selected for admission to His Highness the Maharaja's Special Class of nine boys including himself. His Tutor and Governor was Mr. S.M. (now Sir Stuart) Fraser, an officer of outstanding ability who belonged to the Indian Civil Service. He had already educated two Indian Princes, the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Kolhapur, and had acquired a reputation as a successful tutor and guardian of ruling princes. Young himself (he was only thirty-one), Mr. Fraser proved a great success in Mysore also.

His Highness and his class-mates lived in a house called the Summer Palace which was both our home and school. Besides regular class-work between 10.30 and 4.30, we had daily instruction in drill, both infantry and cavalry, riding and outdoor games such as cricket, football and tennis. Polo and hunting were also practised. During his stay at the hill palace at Ootacamund, His Highness hunted regularly with the Cotacamund hounds, but at Mysore, where there was no pack, coursing took the place of hunting. His Highness was taught to drive a carriage and pair, and it was not long before he became expert in driving a four-in-hand.

I left His Highness's class in 1901, and joined the Central College graduating in 1905. Soon afterwards I was appointed to the Mysore Police Service. My father did not relish the idea of my serving in the Police Department. His Highness's intention also, was to take me into his own office; but neither the Private Secretary nor the Assistant Private Secretary was in favour of this. With the exercise of his wonderful tact and patience, His Highness succeeded at last in getting me transferred to his office. My salary was only Rs. 100/- per mensem, and my designation continued to be Probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police. It was a most anomalous position for me, and it was only after a great deal of acrimonious correspondence with the Dewan that the latter was prevailed upon to nominate me to the Civil Service as a Probationary Assistant Commissioner. I gradually rose to the position of Assistant Secretary, then Huzur Secretary in 1913, and Private Secretary in 1923, succeeding Mr. R.H. Campbell. I was the first Indian to occupy the post. The Private Secretary to the Maharaja enjoyed the status of a minister in those days, and it was considered a key post. In due time, I became the most senior officer in the State next to the Dewan; and when that appointment fell vacant, I became entitled to it by virtue of my seniority, and His Highness sent for me, although I was thought to be rather young for such a responsible post. That was in 1926 and my age was 42.

AS DEWAN.

I held office until May 1941 - a period of fifteen years, the

longest Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer had for 18 years.

It was the Maharaja's wish that mine should be a record term of office. I used to ask him now and again if the time had not come for me to make room for some one else. The occupant might not get tired - as seldom happened - of the seat, the seat, I said, seemed to get tired of him and clamoured for a change. On the last occasion, when I spoke of this to him (this was six months or so before his death,) and as we were driving together to the Palace, he was somewhat displeased at my broaching the subject again. In a tone of some impatience, he said that I should first take him over there - pointing in the direction of the cremation ground - then, do whatever I liked. He added that there was, so far as he was concerned, no question of his having another Dewan so long as he and I were alive.

BANGALORE DISTURBANCES.

In August 1928, serious disturbances took place in Bangalore, in which schoolboys took a prominent part. The real cause of the trouble was the unpopularity of a Muslim politician who happened to be the President of the City Municipal Council at the time. He was much disliked by a large section of Hindus. He had his failings, and there were good grounds for his unpopularity, as I discovered later on but only after my retirement from service. He was a very competent man, full of enthusiasm for his work. I rather liked him for this reason, and took him out with me on my weekly town-inspection, which I used to do on horseback, accompanied by the Municipal Commissioner, the Health Officer, the Executive Engineer of the Municipality and the President, Abbas Khan, too, riding with us. I thus came to be regarded as his patron and supporter and in consequence drew much of the fire on myself. The rioting took a serious turn, and although it was soon put down, it left its aftermath of ill-feeling between the two communities which took some time to disappear.

The Daily Mail of London took keen interest in the affair and published sensational accounts much to our embarrassment.

The following letter the Maharaja wrote to me in his own hand, during those anxious days, shows not only his inborn sense of justice and his sound judgment, but also his unbounded confidence in me. Such resoluteness and constancy were very characteristic of him. Once he took his stand on any matter, nothing would daunt him:

> I cannot keep quiet any longer without writing these few lines to you. I hope that you will not think that I have not been feeling for you and yours these last few days while all these troubles are going on around you. I pray that your health may not break down under the strain.
>
> I cannot write more, my heart is too full. I reserve everything for a personal talk when we next meet.
>
> ..... came and saw me for 1½ hours yesterday. I hope he has spoken the truth. But I will not believe anybody. Since falling out with you, I don't know how far ..... has had anything to do with all this. I am simply wonder-struck and shocked at the way this uncharitable and ungrateful world is ready to show off

its jealousy at another's success. At the present moment, in the eyes of the Hindus, everything that you have done so far and are doing is all wrong with a motive behind it. I am enclosing the latest among the many such letters that are daily pouring in by post to poison my mind against you.

I hope God will grant you courage to steer through the situation safely.

Here let me recall with gratitude the support I received from Mr. (now Sir) A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar who, as President of the Municipal Corporation of Madras City, went out of his way to invite me to Madras and present me with an address on behalf of the Corporation.

EXTENSION OF TERM OF OFFICE.

His Highness rejoiced at any success I achieved. As an answer to a rumour set afloat by interested parties that I was to retire shortly, he announced his decision extending my term of office by five years. Sir Charles Todhunter, the Private Secretary, thought that it should be for an unlimited period, but I did not agree to this. I felt that five years was a long enough period, and there was nothing to prevent His Highness from extending it further if he so wished - but an announcement continuing me in office for an indefinite period, or during His Highness's pleasure, might, I felt, have a prejudicial effect on the public mind. When the announcement was made, it was well received not only by the public of Mysore but also by people outside. A grand entertainment was given to me at the Lal Bagh (Public Gardens) on the 19th of February 1935 by the citizens of Bangalore who had gathered in their thousands to express their pleasure at His Highness's decision. In an address presented to me, they remarked "this act of His Highness, if we may speak of it, yet another instance of His Highness's ready insight into the hearts and minds of his beloved subjects and his sure understanding of the needs of the State".

Sitting beside me on the dais was the British Resident, who remarked to me that in no other Indian State but here in Mysore under a high-minded Maharaja would such a popular demonstration in favour of his Dewan have been permitted by the Ruler. That was a true enough observation.

BIRTH CONTROL.

An effort was made to popularise birth control in the State. Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer of Madras, who was childless himself, took a keen interest in the movement, realising as he did, the fundamental importance of it to this country. "I am sorry", he wrote to me (February 1931) "it was not possible for you to pay a visit to Dr. Marie Stopes's clinic (in London). I suggested it not because I was dissatisfied with what Mysore had done, but because I wanted you to go further. One of the difficulties you are encountering now is the want of an adequate number of lady doctors or midwives with sufficient experience of the technique of contraception.....

A meeting was held at the house of a Nepalese nobleman who had settled down in Bangalore, to popularise birth control. The amusing part of it was that the host had no family to boast of, and Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, one of the speakers, and the other two speakers, one an Indian gentleman

who is happily still living and a British Colonel, all were childless.

Birth-control, or family planning, as it is now called, is unquestionably a matter of vital importance to this country. Our administrators will have to pay earnest attention to the problem if the country is to be saved from misery resulting from over-population. The present rate of increase is 5 million a year, and India's population will swell to over 400 million in the next ten years, perhaps to a more spectacular figure if the expectancy of human life is raised from 27 to about 40 during the period, as the result of economic betterment and improved medical facilities. Research designed to develop contraceptive methods that are thoroughly safe and effective, cheap and simple, has to be carried out with the assistance of western countries.

COW-PROTECTION.

Cow-protection is a subject of perennial interest in India. I received a telegram from the Secretary of the Jameat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, asking for my views on the cow question. I said in reply that Islam, while approving of cow-sacrifice, abhorred such performance of it as might wound the feeling of others. Further, I could not regard the question as a purely or even mainly religious one, but would stress rather its economic importance. It was chiefly for economic reasons that the Government of Mysore hesitated to introduce cow protection, as so many other states had done. No cows were sacrificed in this State on Bakrid day. I added that I deprecated the stressing of religious differences, especially at that time.

The Government of Mysore appointed a special committee consisting entirely of Hindus to advise them on this question. The committee expressed itself unanimously against any restriction in the matter of cattle slaughter. Their opinion was based mainly on economic grounds. The new Congress Government of Mysore have since introduced legislation prohibiting cow slaughter. The neighbouring Congress Government of Madras have not done so. In Rajputana, cattle slaughter has never been permitted, while in the State of Kashmir, in the days of the Maharaja, those guilty of killing a cow were punished with death. Import of beef in any form was strictly prohibited.

REDUCTION OF SUBSIDY.

A notable event in my time was the reduction of the annual subsidy ~~1926 and 1927, the former of which pleased Lord Irwin, and the latter did not please Lord Willingdon and the Governors:~~

From my Address in 1926:

There is just one other subject, upon which I should like to say a word or two as it is very important and of some interest to you. We are living in stirring times. India is in the throes of a supreme crisis. What the upshot of it all will be, no man can tell. We can only hope for the best. We of the Indian States may not be directly involved in the conflict that is going on around us, but the consequences flowing from it are not going to leave us untouched; they will affect us as much as the rest of India.

To my mind the tragedy of the whole situation lies in this. Both sides mean well, both are anxious to advance India's interests.

I feel that their decision has [illegible] advocacy of the claims of the State, but [illegible] who is happily still living and a British Colonel, all were childless! [illegible] for two years. It will, I am sure, be [illegible] you. Birth-control, or family planning, as it is now called, is unquestionably a matter of vital importance to this country. Our administrators

VISIT TO [illegible]. will have to pay earnest attention to the problem if the country is to be saved from misery resulting from over-population. The present rate of increase is 5 million a year, and India's population will swell to over 400 million in the next ten years, perhaps to a more spectacular figure if the expectancy of human life is raised from 27 to about 40 during the period, as the result of economic betterment and improved medical facilities. Research designed to develop contraceptive methods that are thoroughly safe and effective, cheap and simple, has to be carried out with the assistance of western countries

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REDUCTION OF SUBSIDY. A notable event in my time was the reduction of the annual subsidy of Rs. 35 lakhs (three and a half million rupees) imposed on the State on its transfer to the Hindu dynasty, by Rs. 10½ lakhs. This was done in 1926 by Lord Irwin, then Viceroy (1926) with the unanimous support of his Executive Council. The Resident, Mr. S.E. Pears, exerted himself to the utmost in securing this partial relief from a heavy burden. His Highness was gracious enough to write to me in this connection:

> On this day when our hearts are full of the successful issue of the struggle of thirty-five years for the reduction of the Subsidy, I feel that it is only right to put on record my sense of the debt which Mysore owes to you for your part in bringing about this happy conclusion. His Excellency the Viceroy has told us that the leading motive of the Government of India in making the remission was to reward good government, and

I feel that their decision has been influenced not only by your advocacy of the claims of the State, but even more by the assurance that in your hands the money would be spent in the best possible manner for the good of Mysore. It will, I am sure, be very gratifying to you to know that I have it on the highest authority that the State owes to you more than to any one the result that has been achieved.

VISIT TO EUROPE.

I accompanied His Highness on his trip to Europe in 1936. He enjoyed it very much, interested as he was, in everything - architecture music, politics, natural scenery, motoring, horses and zoological gardens (he owned the best zoo in India). He was a very versatile man indeed and as he grew older he took an increasing interest in all things round him.

~~He visited Berlin, and was well received there.~~ The German Government wanted to give him an official reception, but it was declined.

LORD WILLINGDON'S VISIT TO MYSORE.

Lord Willingdon visited Mysore as Viceroy in November 1933. His first visit took place when he was Governor of Bombay, and he came once or twice while he was Governor of Madras. Lord and Lady Willingdon were both good friends of the Maharaja and his mother, and were well-known and popular in the State. As we were driving in procession to Lalitha Mahal, the principal guest house, Lady Willingdon said to me that His Excellency was very annoyed with me and was going to give me a dressing down. I could not help smiling and said that I did not mind any amount of scolding from His Excellency, whom I held in great esteem and affection.

I was sent for the next day. The Viceroy in his characteristically genial manner said to me: "Look here, Mirza, what have you been doing ?" Every governor, he said, had written to him objecting to the views expressed by me in my recent address to the Mysore Representative Assembly. I was surprised at this, and replied that my motive was so obviously good that I could not understand anybody objecting to what I had said. I mentioned that on a previous occasion, a similar statement earned for me the cordial approbation of his predecessor, Lord Irwin, and that I meant to help him. He listened to me patiently, and merely said, "Don't do it again, my dear fellow". I said I would not, since I had no desire to offend him in any way. ~~There the topic was closed in a most pleasant manner.~~

~~I give below extracts from my Addresses to the Assembly in 1926 and 1933, the former of which pleased Lord Irwin, and the latter did not please Lord Willingdon and the Governors:~~

From my Address in 1926:

There is just one other subject, upon which I should like to say a word or two as it is very important and of some interest to you. We are living in stirring times. India is in the throes of a supreme crisis. What the upshot of it all will be, no man can tell. We can only hope for the best. We of the Indian States may not be directly involved in the conflict that is going on around us, but the consequences flowing from it are not going to leave us untouched; they will affect us as much as the rest of India.

To my mind the tragedy of the whole situation lies in this. Both sides mean well, both are anxious to advance India's interests.

The goal is there, it stands in shining splendour on the horizon. There is on one side a great and patriotic soul who may be said to represent the spirit of India and to voice her sentiments as probably no one else can do, giving passionate expression, as he does, to the growing feeling of national self-consciousness which has lately swept over the country like a flood tide. And on the other side, representing a great nation, there is a sagacious and highly-esteemed statesman, whose greatness of heart and whose love for our country is recognised by all. Surely, it should not be impossible to bridge the gulf that divides the two sides. India will not forgive any one, whether he is an Indian or not, who interposes obstacles in the way of a peaceful and honourable settlement, and who would instead plunge her in long years of confusion and agony. The British Government have declared Self-Government as the goal of their policy in India, and, consequently, it would appear to me that the main function of the Round Table Conference will be to consider how best the goal can be attained in the quickest possible time. At the same time, let us Indians realise that there is not much use in having Self-Government or what practically means the same thing, Dominion Status, if, when we have got it, we do not know what to do with it. Let us by all means make sure that we do reach the Promised Land, but is it not also our duty to see that the orderly march of our caravan (by no means a united or homogeneous body) to that destination is ensured, and that it follows the right road to it, and does not split up on the way, and lose itself in innumerable by-paths ? If the Round Table Conference results in the establishment of the constitution of India on the basis of "a self-governing Dominion", to use the Secretary of State's expression with necessary safeguards, that ought to satisfy every patriotic Indian.

Among the forces that have helped to bring India together, undoubtedly the most potent are the British connection and the English Language. It is they that have created, and are fostering, the spirit of nationalism which is so striking a feature of the life of the country to-day. It is not to the interest of India to eliminate either of these forces before adequate substitutes for them have been found, and this is a process which cannot be accomplished in a day. Never let us forget, as some of our countrymen are inclined to do in their zeal for the speedy attainment of Swaraj, that there are certain facts and considerations which cannot be overlooked without serious injury to the interests of the country. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood when I say that patriotic enthusiasm, however, estimable it may be in itself, is not the only quality required in our countrymen at the present time. A vast gulf divides an appreciation of realities from mere emotionalism. The longer the country is kept in the present state of ferment the greater is the danger, for we can never tell in India what forms such discontent and disrespect for law and authority may assume if they are allowed to permeate the masses.

God grant to all those in whose hands the destiny of this country rests, wisdom, patience and the readiness to consider the other side's point of view with generous spirit and impartial mind; and let there be a common determination not to allow obstacles to come in the way of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.

Let us all join with the Society of Friends in hoping that "From this suffering and travail of the soul in India there will yet come a re-birth of freedom which shall bring blessing to both our lands', to India as to England, which is only less dear to us than our own country, for England, in spite of all that could possibly be said against her rule, has a claim on India's affection and gratitude.

~~From the Address of September 30, 1933:~~

"I am confident that the solution of the more serious of our political and economic problems is only a question of time and adaptation of our systems to our circumstances. Meanwhile, it is undesirable that our temporary difficulties should be unduly magnified and the many gratifying signs of progress overlooked."

And here I am tempted to say that there is one man above all others who can help us towards a reconciliation of our difficulties, and towards that new phase of character that is the ground-work of self-government. I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics. There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader, and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover of peace and an ardent patriot, but also a

far-seeing, sagacious statesman. I feel that he is qualified far better than any one else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together a further stage along the road that leads to self-government. He also has it in his power, as no one else has, to establish the happiest relations between India and Great Britain. I feel sure that the Government have in him a powerful ally and Great Britain a true friend. If he should retire from politics at this juncture, there are indications that the arena would, in all probability, be occupied by demagogues and vain visionaries out to mislead themselves and the country by meaningless shibboleths.

I might add that I personally found in the Mahatma a powerful ally at the Second Round Table Conference when voicing my criticisms of the feature of the White Paper Constitution which seems to me to be most open to criticism, that is, the composition of the Upper Chamber.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND LORD WILLINGDON.

I must refer to another incident. On arriving in Madras from Mysore, the Viceroy was told that the Maharaja of Mysore, who had just been entertaining him, was now going to entertain Mr. Gandhi as a guest. This, the Viceroy was told, would have a most undesirable effect, and would place other states, such as Travancore, in a very difficult and invidious position should Mr. Gandhi think of going there also. Lord Willingdon was much upset, and wrote a long letter to His Highness in his own hand, requesting him not to entertain the Mahatma as a state guest. His Highness's Private Secretary showed me the letter, and asked for my advice. I suggested that Highness might write to His Excellency and tell him the exact position, - that Mr. Gandhi was not going to be a guest of the state. His hosts were the public of Bangalore, at whose pressing invitation he was coming. All that the Government of Mysore had done was to place their principal guest house, Kumara Park, at the disposal of the Bangalore leaders, for the Mahatma's use, a courtesy invariably shown to distinguished visitors. His Highness (I suggested) might add that as the Viceroy did not seem to approve of this, he would instruct the Dewan to withdraw the offer. I said I would then take up the matter with the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Accordingly, I wrote to Sir Eric Mieville, the Private Secretary, a very wise and understanding officer, explaining how Kumara Park (and also Seshadri House in Mysore) had been placed at the disposal of Mr. Gandhi's hosts, as had been done on a previous occasion, which had coincided synchronized with Lord Irwin's visit to Bangalore. Refusal, I said, would have greatly disappointed the public, and would have given local malcontents an excuse for agitation. The offer, however, would be withdrawn if His Excellency still desired this; but I thought that this was unnecessary, and would be unfortunate. The Private Secretary replied at once that the Viceroy fully understood, and did not wish arrangements to be altered.

My respect for Lord Willingdon was great, and I was indebted to him for so many kindnesses that I was anxious to prevent him from doing something for which he would be severely criticised. He was himself frank by nature, and appreciated frankness in others, as I found more than once. In this matter he had been misinformed and misled. So was it also with his dislike of Mahatma Gandhi and his politics. I think that, left to himself, he would have changed his attitude, but he had prejudiced advisers around him. Characteristic of his personal generosity and friendliness is

the following letter in which he wrote

My dear Mirza,

Very grateful thanks for all you did for us during our visit to His Highness and our wonderful morning at Bangalore. I have vivid recollections of our amazing reception in that city, and still more vividly I remember the marvellous effect you have produced at the Krishnaraja Sagar Dam.

You're a wonder. Go on and all luck go with you. If you will only give up the idea of Gandhi as a leader of political thought in this country, for, believe me, he is temperamentally a bad politician, you will, I know, do much to further the interests of India within the British Empire!

Lord Willingdon wrote (December 24, 1935) to His Highness also, expressing his gratitude for his letter. His mind, he said, was at complete rest. He felt that he "ought not to have taken too seriously the vapourings of the Press which, I fear, are often inaccurate".

"I have wired Sir Mirza to say that I have no wish at all to suggest to you that you shouldn't extend to Mr. Gandhi such courtesies as to accommodation that you wish to, indeed it would be very impertinent of me to do so: my fear was lest he was really going to be made a State guest.

Let me thank you, Your Highness, very gratefully for your most frank letter and let us both put this matter out of our heads, especially at this season and let me wish Your Highness and Her Highness your mother a very happy Xmas and express the hope that the New Year will bring you the fulfilment of many of your desires".

KING-EMPEROR'S TELEGRAM.

An episode which concerned no less a personage than His Majesty the King-Emperor may be narrated here. One day the Maharaja received a cablegram from His Majesty informing him that he proposed to appoint him his A.D.C. in succession to the Maharaja of Gwalior, and it gave His Majesty much satisfaction to think that the Maharaja was to become a member of his Majesty's Personal Staff. Unfortunately, this was an honour which the Maharaja was most unwilling to accept. He handed me the cablegram and asked me to see what could be done about it.

I took the telegram to the Resident, Mr. Steuart Pears, who quite understood the position, as he knew full well how the Maharaja felt in such matters. Fortunately for us, Lord Reading, the Viceroy, happened to be in England on leave, and he was well aware how averse the Maharaja was to accepting any honours for himself. His own proposal to confer on him the rank of Lieutenant-General had been declined by the Maharaja. The Political Secretary had mentioned that idea to me during one of my visits to Simla, and after ascertaining the Maharaja's inclination, I had informed him that the Maharaja was not keen on accepting the honour. Apart from the fact that he did not want any further honours for himself, he felt that if the British Government were really anxious to please him, they should first grant the request that he had been making for so many years past to abolish the heavy tribute which they were levying upon his State.

The Resident and I drafted a cablegram to His Majesty from the Maharaja and another to Lord Reading requesting him to explain the position to the King. The cablegram to His Majesty ran as follows:

I am profoundly sensible of the high honour which Your Majesty proposes to confer on me, and I beg Your Majesty to accept my most heart-

Bangalore City. In this invitation to me I felt gratitude. My person and my State are, as ever, at Your Majesty's disposal, and I shall always cherish the memory of Your Majesty's gracious offer. I am cabling to Lord Reading asking him to disclose to Your Majesty my convictions on the subject of personal honours and I trust that Your Majesty will understand from him both the depth of my devotion to Your Majesty and the sincerity of my conviction on this subject. MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

The telegram to Lord Reading, dated the 7th July 1925:

I have received a cable from His Majesty proposing to appoint me A.D.C. on his personal staff. I have replied to His Majesty that I am telegraphing to Your Excellency requesting you to represent to His Majesty my convictions on the subject of personal honours. Your Excellency knows well my inclinations in these matters. While I am deeply grateful for the high honours that I have already received at the hands of His Majesty the King-Emperor, Your Excellency is aware that I cherish no personal ambition. My desire for no further worldly honours for myself has grown upon me and is based on principles which I have long cherished and which I am trying to carry out in my life. May I appeal to Your Excellency to see that my motive in asking to be excused from accepting a highly valued honour is not in any way misunderstood in a quarter which is as exalted as it is a sacred one to me. MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

Lord Reading's reply was communicated to the Maharaja by the Resident ~~in the following terms:~~ stated

~~It gives me great pleasure to be able to communicate to Your Highness the following message from Lord Reading, which the Political Secretary to the Government of India has asked me to convey to you:-~~

~~"Reference Your Highness' telegram dated the 7th July to me.~~ I have communicated Your Highness' views to His Majesty and have fully explained the reasons which prompted Your Highness to ask His Majesty to excuse you from accepting this high and valued honour. His Majesty regrets, but nevertheless quite understands, the reason which has led to your asking to be excused from accepting the appointment of Personal Aide-de-Camp to the King. You may thus rest assured that your motive is not misunderstood in a quarter which - to use your own words - "is as exalted as it is a sacred one" to you.

AUDIENCE WITH HIS MAJESTY.

~~Royalty is proverbially sensitive in such matters.~~ I had the honour of an audience with His Majesty in 1931 when I went to London as a delegate from Mysore to the First Round Table Conference. His Majesty referred to this incident. I think I was able to satisfy His Majesty on the point. It was a very pleasant audience. His Majesty was most gracious. I remember telling him, apropos of India's demand for self-government, that the more independent the dependancies became, the more essential the Crown would become.

CONSTRUCTION OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

I had the ~~good fortune~~ privilege of laying the foundation-stone of ~~the~~ a Protestant Church - St. Luke's in the fort area of the City of Bangalore on September 29, 1932. The old Church was little more than a shed, and I suggested to them to allow me to take over this building for demolition and that I would give them another and a far better site and help them, as much as possible, to put up a new building for the church. They agreed, and lost no time in starting construction on the new site.

In the course of my address on the occasion, I said that I attached special value to the opportunity of associating myself with them in a function of such importance to the Christian community of

Bangalore City. In this invitation to me, I continued, whose relations with you have been purely secular, I find a profound and moving significance. We all deplore the fact that religion, whose essence is the learning of the law and love of God, is constantly used to sanction violence and fortify men therein. With whatever strength of conviction we rightly cling to our own religious faith and practice, we must needs realize not merely the sincerity but the truth of other religions, wherein from age to age, so many thousands have sought for God and found Him. We all flock home to Him by diverse ways. What could be more important for our motherland than that her children, so diverse in thought and worship, should meet, as in this gathering. They do meet, in an amity far transcending mere tolerance. In our continual struggle against all evils so firmly rooted in human selfishness or indifference, we require all and more than all the spiritual force generated by religion, and when this is diverted, as so often it is, to the most unspiritual use, there is found a people's tragedy. It is characteristic of your religion that on an occasion like this you welcome the non-Christian, not considering him alien to you.

In an address presented to the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, in front of the Church in 1933, the members of St. Luke's Church said:

> We are specially grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for his deep interest and abiding sympathy in all the great religious faiths of the world and for the peace and happiness which we enjoy under His Highness's benevolent reign.
>
> We are thankful to the Lord Bishop of Madras for permitting us to build this new Church and helping us constantly in our enterprise, and to our Dewan for the great interest he is taking in our new Church. He not only gave us the splendid site amidst historical surroundings and laid the foundation-stone and gave us a grant from His Highness's Government, but also visits the building from time to time taking keen personal interest even in details. This sanctuary will be a standing monument to Sir Mirza Ismail's good will and generous love to all faiths.

Talking to the Bishop, who was an old friend, after the ceremony, I remarked - "Bishop, I know I am not going to heaven, but let me at least help others to get there". He smiled.

I am glad a Church was built, of which the Indian Christian Community living in the locality can be really proud.

LAYING FOUNDATION-STONE OF TEMPLE.

I enjoyed a similar privilege by invitation of my Hindu countrymen, when in March 1933, I laid the foundation-stone of a Hindu temple at Chickmagalur in the interior of the State. I said on that occasion that this act of theirs, in associating me with a religious function, represented a just and noble view of religion. I went on to say that our fortunes in life for the most part are determined for us. We had no choice as to the religion or the conditions in which we were born, or in the special qualities of character with which we started on our course. For good or evil they were imposed upon us. "Does it not, therefore, follow that we of different religions should ascertain a brotherly feeling towards one another ? Is it right even to like a man less because his religion is not ours ? That human beings should sit in judgment on each other is even less defensible in religion than in ethics".

In a message to the Bengal Muslim Students' Conference in August 1935, I expressed the hope that the Conference would seek to create an atmosphere of goodwill towards other communities in the country and to encourage constructive work. Such conferences would indeed be of hopeful augury. The aim should indeed be not to have sectional conferences but conferences in which

the youth of every community in the Province could take part. I sincerely trust, I said, that the Muslim students will ever keep this goal in view and strenuously work for it.

PANDITS' CONFERENCE.

I had occasion to address a Pandits' Conference in Bangalore on the 5th April 1936. In the course of my remarks, I said to them:

> I am sure that none of us believes that the Pandit class is going to disappear; nor does any one desire that it should. I am convinced that the Pandit, with his, within well-known limits, spacious and leisurely learning, has a definite place in a cultural economy where learning, like our holdings in agriculture, is suffering from the evils of fragmentation, while the hurry of modern like is too often allowing a veneer of culture to do duty for the real substance. It is not only in matters of learning that the Pandit is necessary for us, but also in the larger life of the community, where he stands for the secular forces of conservatism and stability. Stability and change are perpetually contending for mastery, and progress is the result of the pressure of the forces of change on the solid front of tradition. It is needless to say that social progress has need of both; of stability and tradition just as much as of unrest and change.

INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

When inspecting schools and colleges, I made it a point to impress upon the staff the necessity and importance of sanitary cleanliness. It is here that the training of the youth of the country should start, and I directed that every inspecting officer should make it a point to inspect and report on the condition of the latrines. At the opening ceremony of a school building, I said -

> As I look at the new buildings, two visions cross my mind: one unpleasant and the other pleasant. In the one, the building grows older and dirtier, the walls get decorated with the scribbling of the boys, the rooms are unkempt, and the compound is littered with paper, and weeds are growing in peaceful security. The other vision is of a building which remains bright and clean, of walls free from the scriptory efforts of pupils bent on immortality, of a compound free from the taint of litter, of a well-designed and well-kept garden which sets off the attractiveness of the building. Which of my visions will be realised depends entirely on what I do not hesitate to call the civic consciousness of the staff and the pupils of the school. For I believe that ~~ix~~ interest in, and care for, public buildings and property generally are the signal hall-marks of an active civic spirit ..... You all know what is meant by a base line from which heights are measured. I look upon clean and sanitary latrines as the base line in a community from which social, nay, even intellectual, heights must be measured .....
>
> The Headmaster of a school in England spoke the other day of the three R's -- Reverance, Respect and Restraint. I would ask you to reach these three R's, and to let it also be your constant endeavour to instil into the minds of your pupils loyalty to their Maharaja, love of their country and love of their fellow-beings, be they of their own or other religions, be they human beings or animals.

VISIT TO ROME.

I visited Rome for the first time in March 1931. I could spend only one day there, but I was fortunate enough, through the kindness of Archbishop Pietro Pisani, to obtain an audience of His Holiness the Pope. Archbishop Pisani I had known in Bangalore when he was the Delegate Apostolic. Although His Holiness was rather busy that day, he was gracious enough to find time for me. I was greatly impressed by his kindness, courtesy and affability, and he gave me forty minutes of his precious time. He was worried about the civil war in Spain and alarmed at the progress of

Bolshevism. In the course of conversation, I threw out a suggestion to him that he might perhaps think of appointing more Indians as Bishops, for instance, one in Bangalore. I could see that he appreciated the suggestion, and I was not surprised when an Indian was appointed Bishop of Bangalore at the first opportunity.

I have not been fortunate enough to see Archbishop Pisani again, but his kindness and courtesy can never be forgotten.

As I said, I could spend only one day in Rome. I had to choose between the Pope and Mussolini. I preferred His Holiness to the Dictator and I am not sorry, though I wish I could have seen Mussolini, too, as a study in physiology.

JAH'S BANGALORE.

Mr. Jinnah came to Bangalore with his sister, Miss Jinnah in May 1941 and they stayed for a fortnight as state guests at Nandidroog, a hill station 35 miles from Bangalore, to recuperate his health. Nandi is an ideal spot for rest and quiet. Mr. Gandhi, too, had spent some time there in May 1936.

On his return from Nandi, we met at Kumara Park, the State guest house, and had a talk on the question of Pakistan. I said that the main difference between his view-point and mine was that he wanted only Pakistan for the Muslims, while I wanted both Pakistan and India! At that time, there was no idea of splitting up the Punjab or Bengal. My argument was that under his scheme, he would have, perhaps, one-third of India but with little or no voice in the rest of the sub-continent. Under the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, however, the Muslims would be in virtual control of the Punjab, Bengal with Calcutta, the second largest city in the Commonwealth, as its capital, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and they would have a fairly effective voice in the other provinces as well and especially at the centre.

Mr. Jinnah's answer was that I should join the League and try to convert them to my view. Having been a bureaucrat all my life, I was, I said, ill-fitted for the role of a politician, and would find it quite impossible to go about haranguing the public, and taking an active part in such a warfare.

PALACES

Like all important States, Mysore was allotted a site in New Delhi for the construction of a palace for the use of the Maharaja whenever he visited Delhi. We put off building as long as possible, but the time came when a decision had to be made whether to build or not. I was not in favour of spending such a huge sum - something like Rs. 25 lakhs - on a palace which would be little used by the Maharaja who seldom went to New Delhi. The annual maintenance charges would have amounted to a considerable sum, not to speak of the difficulties in dealing with requests for the use of the house. We could make far better use of the money in the State itself, where so many public wants had to be satisfied. I consulted Sir John Thomson, who was then Chief

Commissioner of Delhi, and he shared my opinion. The idea was finally given up and the site was surrendered to the Government of India. The Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, the grandfather of the last ruler of Baroda, advised me not to make the mistake he had made in constructing a palace in New Delhi and it was a white elephant, he said. His palace, he said, was at my Maharaja's disposal whenever he went to New Delhi. It is pathetic to see the fate that has overtaken these fine palaces. They are now being used as offices and present a dismal appearance instead of being an embellishment to the city.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MYSORE.

During my fifteen years' administration of the State as Dewan, I was able to start, or helped to start, some twenty-five different industries in the State, the most important being - Steel manufacture at Bhadravati, Pipe Foundry at Bhadravati and paper mills, Cement Factory at Bhadravati, Paper Mills at Bhadravati, Sugar Factory at Mandya, Chemical Fertiliser Factory at Mysore, Glass Factory at Bangalore, Two hydro-electric stations, Hindusthan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore, Silk Factory at Mysore, Agricultural Implements Factory at Hassan, Porcelain Factory at Bangalore, Spun Silk Factory at Channapatna, Coffee Curing Works at Chikmagalur, Stoneware Pipe Factory at Hedderghalli, Electric Bulb Manufacture and the Electric Factory near Bangalore which produces transformers, water-metres, fuse-boxes, etc. In addition to these industries, the construction of what was known as the Irwin Canal was undertaken at a cost of Rs. 2½ crores. This canal is irrigating more than 55,000 and more acres and has made possible the establishment of the sugar factory at Mandya, which has brought prosperity to this once arid tract.

My policy was not to concentrate many factories in one place but to distribute them, as far as possible, all over the State and in this way benefit many places. Another advantage was that in case of labour trouble the infection would not spread so easily to other factories in other parts of India.

SIR M. VISVESWARAYA.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya, who was Chief Engineer, P.W.D. and became Dewan of the State, an office which he held for six years with great distinction to himself and profit to the State, had been responsible for the construction of the reservoir across the Cauvery eleven miles from Mysore City and five miles above Seringapatam at a cost of over Rs. 2 crores. Krishnaraj Sagar, as the lake is called, was at that time, the biggest reservoir in India. The iron works at Bhadravati, also, owe their existence to him. These two works have been of enormous benefit to the State and are a standing monument to his wisdom and foresight. And there is much else for which Mysore is indebted to him.

The policy of the Government of India of eventually nationalizing all major industries is certain to hamper industrial progress. It is one thing for a government to run a railway system and the telegraph and telephone departments, and similar concerns which are of a monopolistic character, and quite another to undertake the management of industrial concerns, which have to face world-competition, for experience has shown that government control and management

are, as experience has shown, inevitably inefficient and expensive. This is not a wise or prudent policy for India. The Government has other important matters to attend to, and it should not burden itself with the task of running industries. It can associate itself in their management, but it is best not to assume direct control.

STATE SOCIALISM.

I had set before myself the ideal of a truly socialist state in Mysore. I explained my policy in the course of my address to the Representative Assembly in 1936, referring to the fact that the commercial enterprises we had embarked upon had laid us open, in some quarters, to the charge of going too far in the direction of 'state socialism'. This criticism, I went on to say, was based on an entire misapprehension of the position. In the great countries of the West, like England, the field of industry and commerce was preeminently one for the private entrepreneur, and any undue incursion into his preserves was looked upon as a violation of the doctrine of laissez-faire. On the other hand, here in India, where private enterprise is proverbially unenterprising and private capital notoriously shy, Governments have, perforce, to take a more active and practical interest in the problems of trade and industry than by merely passing a legislative measure regulating the hours of work here or amending the company law there. Indeed, in the peculiar circumstances prevailing in this country, a certain amount of state socialism is not only desirable, but it is also necessary if the pace of industrialisation is to be accelerated. And we in Mysore, if I have erred at all in this respect, have erred on the safe side.

But this policy is quite different from that of wholesale nationalization to which I have referred above, and if a government finds it desirable to assume temporary control of an industry, its aim should be the encouragement of private investment and ultimate private control.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT.

The administration took great pains to improve the villages and our efforts were not altogether unsuccessful, as may, perhaps, be seen from the following letter which I was gratified to get from the Resident, Colonel C.T.C. Plowden (October 16, 1934.

> Last night at dinner with General Fleming I met Major-General S.B. Pope (D.A. and Q.M.G., Southern Command) whom I knew many years ago when we were both serving in Frontier Force regiments. This is his first visit to Mysore. He asked me, entirely of his own accord, to convey to you the following message, namely, that, during all the years he has been in India, nothing has impressed him more than the steps which the Mysore Government have taken to improve the conditions of life in the villages. He was so impressed by what he saw during his stay here that he specially asked me to convey this message to you.

My work in Mysore was the most constructive of a life-time, and was life itself to me. When I look back upon it, my chief joy is the memory of that long association with the late Maharaja, my earliest and closest friend and my august master and benefactor.

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CHAPTER XIII.
THE UNITED NATIONS AND ASIA.

The United Nations is a great world organization. But how is it going to work out and serve humanity ? Will it justify the high expectations formed of it at its inception ? Will it justify the enormous sums of money that are being spent on it ? The world will have to wait for an adequate answer. To me the outlook does not appear too bright. My impression is that possibly the fault lies mainly with the three major Powers that at present dominate the organization and the smaller powers have too little influence in it. This fact militates against trust and confidence in their leadership. This is going to be the acid test of the United Nations and will eventually spell the difference between its success and failure.

An organization such as the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies ~~both~~ suffer from the tendency inherent in such bodies to go on increasing in size and scope. The larger the number of persons they employ, the more pleased they seem to be, and what kind of persons do they employ and why need they employ so many ? Any man recruited by the United Nations, however unfit he may be for a particular job, is called an expert. The organization should not become a reservoir into which self-seeking men are drawn. There is great danger of this happening unless precautionary measures are taken in time. One of the obvious methods would be to appoint a high-powered commission, once in five years, to examine the working of the main organization and each of its specialised agencies and report on the size and character of its establishment, and the results achieved. Some such independent examining body appears necessary if ~~the~~ U N O is to be prevented from growing to enormously in size that it might one day collapse by reason of its own weight, or be clogged by duplication of work between its different branches.

So far as the countries of Asia and Africa are concerned, the United Nations would do well to recognise the fact that there is new life and power in the Eastern countries. They sorely need foreign help but are suspicious of it. They are all looking forward with hope and determination to such prosperity and such influence in the world as have never yet been known in Asia and Africa. But their golden opportunity has its great dangers. More than ever before do they need wise and unselfish leadership, and the careful education of public opinion.

Every one of these countries which have now attained a complete independence in administration and policy is very gravely handicapped both by under-development and by faulty administration. Even where there are some leaders of proved ability and integrity, leadership is, in general, lacking. Corruption has not been stamped out, but increases. Even noble figures are sometimes perverted by a futile, shortsighted nationalism. Too often leaders are dependent for power on the unenlightened mob, which is constantly misled by open or secret mischief-makers. It is a pitiful spectacle when an honest and intelligent leader allows himself to be a slave to popular clamour, though he knows perfectly well that the end will be disaster for his country.

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So far as the countries of Asia and Africa are concerned, the United Nations would do well to recognise the fact that there is new life and power in the Eastern countries. They sorely need foreign help but are suspicious of it. They are all looking forward with hope and determination to such prosperity and such influence in the world as have never yet been known in Asia and Africa. But their golden opportunity has its great dangers. More than ever before do they need wise and unselfish leadership, and the careful education of public opinion.

Every one of these countries which have now attained a complete independence in administration and policy is very gravely handicapped both by under-development and by faulty administration. Even where there are some leaders of proved ability and integrity, leadership is, in general, lacking. Corruption has not been stamped out, but increases. Even noble figures are sometimes perverted by a futile, shortsighted nationalism. Too often leaders are dependent for power on the unenlightened mob, which is constantly misled by open or secret mischief-makers. It is a pitiful spectacle when an honest and intelligent leader allows himself to be a slave to popular clamour, though he knows perfectly well that the end will be disaster for his country.

The mischief-maker works upon the people in two ways. Playing upon their poverty, he makes wild, impossible economic promises. Playing upon their patriotism, he fosters hatred of the stranger, even the friendliest, most helpful stranger, and perverts the people's deep love for their country into a narrow, ignorant, disastrous nationalism. And indeed many a leader himself fails to understand that our whole future depends on our ability to transcend this. Countries that hope to become prosperous and powerful by mere self-development and by a selfish concern with what appears to be their own immediate interest - such countries have no future. At one stride the world has passed beyond all that. A splendid future is open to us, but we shall never reach it unless we are ready to plan and work in full and reasoned cooperation with the other countries of the world. For even Asian unity is not enough. We can afford no antogonisms to other free peoples, who are ready to give us so much and to receive so much from us. We must become states of the world-commonwealth. This is where the United Nations can play so vital a part.

And, as we all know in this respect, it is only the organization of the United Nations that can, if properly led, help us to our goal. The Eastern countries must feel that material help is ready to hand, as well as the garnered experience and wisdom of the world. One could never over-estimate the need for the United Nations, and all the mutual understanding and help that it can offer to its members. And the Eastern nations are no passive beneficiaries. Their voice, too, should mean much in its counsels and policy, in the clarification of its aims and in the making of its ideals. And so, in giving the fullest cooperation to the United Nations, the Eastern countries should feel that they are serving themselves and at the same time, are serving the whole world. And this can happen only if this great organization proves worthy of the world's confidence.

If the Asian countries are to be real world-states, and if they themselves are to attain prosperity and happiness, they must all begin to concentrate upon their domestic policies as well as on international affairs. All of us are suffering from sickness of the body politic. That sickness is largely due to the personal corruption of men in power. Here no half-measures can be tolerated. We must have integrity in all leaders and throughout the services. Without either remorse or fear, we must get rid of every corrupted person. We must not allow our countries to become a paradise for politicians and careerists. And there is another, similar, necessity which is equally urgent. When prosperity begins to come to a comparatively undeveloped country, it often does not percolate to the common people. The growing world is absorbed by the traditionally rich and powerful, or else a new rich class is created, less worthy than the old. The sun shines on the country, but the poor continue to live in the miserable twilight. It is terribly difficult to prevent this. The leader who is determined to see to it that there is a proper distribution of prosperity may endanger not merely his office but even his life. But at such a crisis the world has seldom lacked heroes. Surely, in all our countries men will be found who will stand

this test. They will have a hard time, but they will live in history and in their lifetime they will gain the respect of the whole world. The keen eyes of the world are on them now. They are kindly as well as keen. The nations of the Western world have no desire to criticise us, still less to thwart us. They seek our friendship. They ought to win our confidence. They know that both the peace and the well-being of the world depend, in large measure, upon us. They have understood, better than some of us as yet, how completely interdependent all the nations are. Let us then play our part; let us all help, whether Eastern and Western Nations, alike, by using every opportunity provided for us by this great organization to change all the wild turmoil and hostility of the world into the peace of one world, governed by truth, and justice and goodwill.

The Technical Assistance Representative of the United Nations, although appointed by all the different branches of the United Nations Organization, represents, curiously enough, only the Technical Assistance Administration branch. There seems to be a good deal of jealousy between the various agencies. While I held that office in Indonesia, I found that the W H O particularly, stood too much on its dignity. It had an independent organization of its own with which the Technical Assistance Representative had nothing to do with them. So also the I L O, the U N E S C O and Specialised Agencies. I asked them why the United Nations Technical Assistance Representative should not represent them, too, instead of only one branch of the Organization since he was jointly appointed by all, but I could see that none of them would hear of it. The present designation is, therefore, a misnomer. As it was, I only looked after the work of the administrative branch and that was very little. There were only two or three officials working directly under me.

There is one particular malady which seems to afflict the modern age. It is the irrepressible tendency in the governments to spend public money lavishly to a degree unimaginable by our forebears.

Governments need money for all sorts of purposes, necessary and unnecessary, they have to raise it by taxing their people. The process goes on - the higher the public expenditure, the higher the taxation, direct or indirect, the greater the hardship caused to the public and the greater the dissatisfaction which sooner or later assumes a more vocal or turbulent form, and is then called communism or something very akin to it.

Every country in the world to-day has its own difficulties to face. Britain has them; the United States of America has them; even Soviet Russia has them; and they will always have them, so also every Asian country, one need scarcely say. Such is the law of Nature which operates inexorably and impartially. In addition to the difficulties common to all humanity throughout the world, the Asian countries - barring, perhaps, one or two - suffer from man-made internal difficulties, of a nature which can be even more formidable. They are all swimmers in difficulties; some will go down; some will just manage to keep afloat; some - very few - will, or

may, prosper. This is, and will be, the case so long as integrity in public life is lacking and the leadership is inefficient and corrupt.

That a nation, which scarcely half a century ago, was at the zenith of its power and glory, should to-day find itself in grave difficulties with its finances and its economic life threatened with collapse, is one of those strange ironies of fate to which humanity is subject.

Providence is a jealous being. It cannot bear to see a nation, any more than an individual, long on top. Sooner or later, it is made to come off the pedestal. But those sterling qualities which enabled the British people to assume the leadership of the world, will surely sustain them in surmounting the difficulties which are now facing them, and help them to regain, rather to retain, the high, if not the foremost position they once held in the councils of the world.

The United States of America is facing a task of tremendous magnitude and responsibility. Destiny has cast upon her the role of Defender and Protector of the free world. She is carrying a burden which would have crushed any other country. But for her protecting arm, Western Europe would have by now been in the clutches of the Kremlin and the rest of the world, too, sooner or later, would have shared the same fate.

History records no parallel of a nation sacrificing, and capable of sacrificing so much for the good of humanity as the United States has done and is doing, sparing neither money nor talent, whether in fighting pestilence and poverty, or in ameliorating living conditions in so many countries throughout the world, or in resisting the rising tide of communist aggression.

And yet, why is it that America's help, given so unselfishly and ungrudgingly and on such a colossal scale, is not adequately appreciated by the beneficiaries ? The answer, perhaps, lies partly in the proverbial ingratitude of mankind, but chiefly, I feel, in the psychological approach which the United States has adopted in offering aid to other countries. In her anxiety over Communism, she has sometimes shown so keen a desire to help countries to resist it that she has exposed herself to suspicion. They suspect her of some ulterior motive, when, as a matter of fact, she has none.

The United States would add to its prestige and respect in the eyes of the Orient if she would exercise some control over the films produced in the country or, at any rate, over those exported abroad. American films are at present too much associated in the public mind with gangsterism or sex and have become almost synonymous with these things.

The world is suffering to-day from man-made misery, avoidable and, therefore, all the more regrettable and unbearable. The armament race, which itself is the result of mutual suspicion between two blocs of Powers is directly responsible for the present deterioration in the national economies of countries, causing inflation, reduction of civil production and standards of living and many other consequent evils.

Even more than actual warfare, it is the constant dread of war that is subjecting the world to intolerable strain. Besides all this, there is a conflict, quite natural, perhaps, going on between the forces of nature and those of nationalism. The forces of nature, as represented by modern science, are tending towards the unification of the world and the annihilation of all barriers, while nationalism is busy building barriers across and isolating nations one from another.

In the United Nations Organization, nationals of all member-countries are eligible for employment and most countries are thus represented in it. There is no racial discrimination; all are united in the service of a single democratic institution. There can be no better demonstration of the fact that diversity of nation or race or creed is no bar to unity of purpose or to service under a common flag, if that prupose is a truly noble one and that flag a truly international one as it is in the case of the United Nations.

Let us all pray and hope for the best and look forward to a reasonably bright future, taking comfort in the thought that the world has suffered and outlived much and will outlive more and men have contrived to be happy in it.

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CHAPTER XVI.

COMMON THOUGHTS ON SERIOUS SUBJECTS.

ADMINISTRATION:

1. A Federation involving sectional injustice, weakening the co-operative will of any section by the sense of a real grievance, would mock its name and purpose.

2. Legislation in matters of a socio-religious nature is beset with many practical difficulties in our country. It is a truism that reform, to be real and lasting, must proceed from within. It cannot be imposed from without.

3. It is a mistake to develop a partiality for the "yes-man". The subordinate who says "yes" to every plan in neglect of his duty and out of a mistaken notion of his interest, is a yes-man, a flatterer, not an adviser, an enemy, not a friend.

4. As experience extends, ripe judgment becomes more rapid and more certain, often indeed instinctive; though in the early stages of administrative work it is no bad rule to judge rather slowly. Most people, in particular most young men, would like to establish a reputation for prompt, incisive and infallible decision. But it is better to be right than to be quick.

5. Even financial difficulties are not so insurmountable obstacles as we are apt to imagine. Believe me, a great deal can be accomplished in spite of them, provided always that we are animated by a sincere spirit and work together harmoniously united by lofty aims in the fellowship of service.

6. There is no better test of a man's fitness for his work than his love for it. But hard work must become a habit before any degree of success whatever is attained. Hard work never yet killed a man, nor hurt him. Worry kills, but not work. Hard work is not irksome. It is a healthy price which any man pays for success.

7. Let us not be subservient to tradition. The trouble arises when it has given authority above reason. The tradition which gives grace and mellowness to life deserves to be preserved, but towards the tradition which puts a veto on all progress and experiment we must exhibit the most relentless opposition.

8. It is not enough if we merely do the work assigned to us. The art lies in doing more than is expected of us; in proving ourselves more useful than was anticipated. The difference between a successful man and an unsuccessful man is that while the one makes his position greater than he found it, the other keeps it where he found it and it keeps him there.

9. To be a successful public servant, it is necessary not only that you should do your best, but that you should obtain the best that is in those under your direction. You must treat them with a just recognition of their needs, their rights, their responsibility, regarding them as fellow-members of the great brotherhood of Humanity. The most scrupulous justice as well as the most friendly consideration is due to every subordinate.

10. I believe in humble beginnings. Small beginnings do not necessarily mean small endings. Often they mean the very opposite. I would rather begin in a small way and go on building up on sure and safe foundations than begin on an ambitious scale and later on - as only too often happens - find it impossible to maintain, much less improve, what has been undertaken.

11. The administrator has the responsibility of ameliorating the wretched economic conditions which are the fundamental cause of much ill-health and disease. He who holds the purse strings and he should

22. The progress of the Indian peasant depends, in no small measure, on the intelligence, equipment, and sense of responsibility which are to be found in the village school teacher. He can make or mar the village, and in doing so he can help the cause of Indian progress or hamper it. Teachers constitute the first line of defence. The teachers can help lead the people to judgment and balance, avoiding mob rule and violence so that real democracy may survive in a world gone mad.

recognise that the wise spending of money on improving the health of the people is really an investment of public funds which can, in time, show an incalculable return.

12. The winning of Swaraj is not an ending but a beginning - a beginning of new opportunities on the one hand, a beginning of new responsibilities on the other. but above all, the beginning of a period of very heavy work, the difficulty of which will be only equalled by its interest. The magnitude, the variety, and the complexity, of the interests involved will unquestionably make the work both heavy and difficult.

13. An efficient official is something more than a machine. He should make it the rule of his official life not to wait for work to come to him but to go in search of it, and he will not have to go far. There is always something useful for active brains and willing hands to do. One cannot much admire the public servant who has a mere routine of duties performed day in and day out. He is the same yesterday and to-day. No special fault can be found with his work. He does it just as a machine would do. That is not the type of official that can be of much use to the State.

14. We know that people ask for things which we cannot give with the money or resources at our disposal. But good service includes many things which do not involve money. It does not cost money to be courteous to the public. It does not cost money to give serious and thorough attention to complaints. If one complaint is made, it is a pretty safe assumption that a good many other persons are affected by the thing complained of, and have not said anything. A man who makes a reasonable complaint should be regarded as a friend and the complaint should be carefully examined. If you can correct the trouble, it ought to be corrected. If you cannot, nothing will do more good than a frank and candid explanation giving the reasons why it cannot be helped or was not helped.

EDUCATION:

1. The high school is, however, not merely a gateway to the university, but also a great clearing-house of the youthful talent of the country.

2. The reorganization of education must be an integral part of planning of the economic life of the country in close relation to the economic life of the world as a whole.

3. The true university fosters ideals, but always in such a way that they may be put in practice in the real world, not in drowsiness or dreaminess or in vague enjoyment of poetic and religious abstractions, but in the resolute purpose to apply spiritual ideals to actual life.

4. Educational institutions should, undoubtedly be nurseries of patriotism and their aim should be to train young men to be of real servic to their country. One of the highest aims of education should be preparation of young men for citizenship.

5. I am strongly of opinion that the relationship between education and employment should not be casual but deliberate and systematic. Much of the good is taken out of education by the prevailing uncertainty of what is to happen to the student when education is finished, forming of links

6. One of the chief merits of games is that they teach us to keep our tempers. For if we lose our temper, we are more than likely to lose the game. Whatever develops skill, firmness, unselfishness, patience and self-control, in addition to the improvement of the body, is well worthy of our attention. pursuit.

7. No country can afford to neglect its own language. Only those who keep intact the bond of unity with their own people are capable of exercising any sound influence amongst them. Let our pupils, then,

not neglect their vernacular. It is desirable that ~~they~~ each should, as far as possible, learn through the medium of their own vernacular.

8. Our universities are ~~all~~ located in the leading cities of India, but I fear that they live in seclusion and are not influenced by the life that sweeps by them, nor have they established intimate contacts with the people from whom they draw their sustenance and for whom, in the last resort, their work is intended.

9. It has been said that there are two freedoms, the first the false, where one is free to do what one likes, and the second, the true, where one is free to do what one ought. And, similarly, there are two educations, the first ~~which~~ just trains you to get a living or a passport to a living, and the second, ~~that~~ teaches you how to live a right life. The ideal system of education is one that subserves both ends at once.

10. We know well that India does not lack natural resources. Her fields and mountains, her waters and mines, can give us in abundance all that we want. But have we ~~not~~, the ability to develop these resources, or men and women with the requisite technical skill, who have learnt to dare and to pioneer ? The Universities of India can provide part of the future affirmative answer to this crucial question.

11. We believe easily what we fear or what we desire. said a philosopher. To see things from many points of view, to enter into feelings far different from one's own, to understand and care about the ideas and interests of others, though they conflict with one's own, to be as ready to make concessions as to demand them - these are marks of the good man. There are forms of goodness which we positively demand of the graduate of a university.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

1. Unemployment, from whatever cause arising, is the ~~worst~~ outcome of the cumulative misfits and maladjustments in the economic life of the people. ~~Unemployment~~ not only creates an atmosphere favourable to disorder and discontent but imparts to differences from whatever cause arising something of the rancour incidental to a struggle for existence.

2. An educational system with a definite practical aim, an agricultural organization which provides the maximum of food, raw material and profitable occupation, and an industrial development which fully utilizes the resources of the country - these alone can furnish a satisfactory solution to the pressing problem of unemployment.

3. The most disturbing phenomenon in the country to-day is undoubtedly the attitude of mind of the young men. ~~Youth is bitter~~ and ~~disappointed~~. ~~That attitude~~ is produced largely by economic despair. This is perhaps the most perplexing problem facing the country at present, and ~~something~~ must be ~~done~~ and that quickly.

EQUITY.

1. The strength of a chain ~~is judged~~ by its weakest link, and so long as the depressed classes remain what they are, there can be no general uplift of the country. If ~~it~~ is to progress, ~~you must take them with you~~

2. The ends of justice are too often defeated by means of law. The high aims of justice are often circumvented by the technicalities of legal procedure. There is obviously something radically wrong in a system which permits of ~~such~~ inordinate delays.

3. The up-building of character and intelligence by providing opportunity and instruction; the securing of comfort and prosperity through justice as well as philanthropy; the protection of the individual from disease as well as from attack, are all ~~the~~ tasks ~~which~~ demand collective effort.

4. Inequalities in the constitution of society. ~~there will always~~ be, for ~~such inequalities~~ are in the nature of things; but it is the

duty of the State to afford to all communities the best and fullest opportunities for the development of their God-given gifts; only so, can society as a whole find stability and strength.

5. Nothing is so difficult as ~~the~~ assessing of the values of political and social innovations particularly in a country where the traditional organization of life resembles a thousand-year old structure, with foundations deep beyond fathoming and with walls and ceilings full of hallowed paintings and friezes, and the whole held together by the interplay of forces which it is impossible to estimate. In attempting to adapt such a structure to modern requirements, we cannot afford to forget that the disturbing of a single wornout brick or a single sagging beam may perchance bring down the whole venerable edifice in a mass of debris.

We have to proceed with caution if we ~~wish~~ to minimise social disturbance, and avoid its bitter aftermath of class feud and blind partisanship. The best way of proceeding is the way of mutual persuasion and friendly understanding - not the way of minatory challenges and precipitated conflicts.

NATION-BUILDING.

1. In India, where the ideas of civic responsibility are not absorbed from the atmosphere, every school boy must receive a deliberate training in citizenship.

2. Insurance is like the quality of mercy. It blesseth him that gives and him that takes. Insurance cares for you from the cradle to the grave.

3. I think that if each of us were to cultivate a real close friendship with a man of another community, we should soon realize how silly ~~we~~ our ~~mutual warfare~~.

4. The ideal road is one on which the driver meets nothing unexpected. The ~~building~~ such roads is more a matter of economics than of road engineering.

5. The more we observe the laws of public health the less disease there will be. Open air, wholesome food, pure drinking water, and hygienic dwellings - these preventives are better than any curatives.

6. It is harder to struggle against wealth than against poverty, and ease is far more deadly frustrater of careers than hardship. No doubt, these are handicaps which all would welcome with open arms. Yet they are a great test of character.

7. An industry cannot long endure if it is founded on sentiment alone. If it is to survive in the keen competition which is a feature of modern commercial life, it should have something more substantial to sustain it than the mere fact that it is a local product.

8. Places of pilgrimage devoted to divine worship should be models of cleanliness, for it is a trite saying that cleanliness is next to godliness. Who would wish to live in the midst of dirt ? Cleanliness and agreeable surroundings are as necessary as peace of mind for meditation.

9. The raiyat does not want money as money. He wants it to buy cattle, ploughs, implements, manure, seed and the like. We have set to give him facilities in these matters by the formation of agricultural supply societies of various kinds.

10. It should be our aim to convert our ugly and unhealthy villages into houses simply built, ~~with~~ with play grounds, schools, attractive and healthy ones, consisting of co-operative societies, places of worship, and other public institutions.

11. Public health is a matter in which no lasting success can be attained without the active co-operation of the people themselves, and

that is why I want youth to imbibe the Red Cross spirit, the spirit which, whether it be called after the Cross, Crescent or Krishna, makes us all members one of another in matters of health, at every stage of our existence.

12. The 'millions' are still 'voiceless' and ignorant, obsessed in mind with grim daily necessities, but it is false humanity and false history to conceive that in a time of tremendous national aspiration either the town labourer or the rustic can remain insensible.

13. ~~Ours is mainly an agricultural country, and~~ India it will remain an essentially agricultural country for as long as one can foresee. No effort, therefore, would be too great in serving the cause of the agriculturist and in making him a happier and ~~more prosperous man~~ less indigent man.

14. The ~~physical~~ aim of physical culture ought to be simply the body's health and efficiency, and it is high time that the public condemned as monstrosities those whose craze is abnormal development of some kind or other. To be able to lift enormous weights is not really virtuous, even physically. The ability to stop motor cars or endure all sorts of sub-human jumpings and pomellings is not enviable or a good example.

15. How is it possible for any progress, inward or outward. to be achieved if the people get accustomed to living in an unhealthy and insanitary environment, and are habituated to filth and squalor ? Squalor and enlightenment cannot exist together.

16. There can be few more worthy objects of one's charity than the relief of suffering. In India we have not yet realised, as has long been realised in the West, that the provision and even the upkeep of hospitals is largely a public obligation to be borne as much by well-to-do people as by the State.

17. Enthusiasm, not only in the individual but also in collective achievement, is vital to corporate enterprises. This team-spirit is essential if success is to be achieved. Great ideas, however splendidly conceived, are useless if the united executive strength for their interprétation is lacking.

18. It is a great mistake, as it is a great temptation, for a municipality to interest itself in politics, and other matters which do not concern it. The introduction of politics into the municipal hall can only do harm to the municipality. ~~Do take this from me as the advice of a well-wisher interested in the development of local bodies, and also, if it is ever needed, as a warning.~~ its functions

19. The growth of the agricultural and industrial activities of the people is bound to bring in its train not only material additions to individual and national possessions, but also a more wakeful and more vigorous national intelligence a quicker civic and social consciousness, a finer aspiration and a better standard of living, and a more effective preparation for the higher objects of human existence.

23. Exhibitions are the time-keepers of progress. country's advancement. They stimulate the energy enterprise and in... gence of the people and they help the building up of the commercial prosperity of the country. Upon this, indeed, the very life of the country depends.

Exhibitions which depend too much on the entertainment side to make them popular do more harm than good to the cause, for we can never afford to forget that when once amusements are allowed to militate against educative values, exhibitions lose their fundamental purpose. To put a premium upon crowds and collections at the expense of economic ideas and ethical principles is to turn on exhibition into a snare and a delusion.

WOMAN.

Now the centre of life is, has been, and ever will be the home. At the centre of the home is woman. Man by reason of the many necessities and complications of his life, often is impelled towards the outer circumference. But he also feels and responds to the inward pull of home. Woman, however, is at the centre all the time. Her pre-occupations are more with living beings and their essential needs than with the manipulation of useful and important but inanimate properties and interests. Woman is more concerned with life than with the stock-markets and red-tape!

THE PRESS.

1. In these days of overnment by persuasion, the journalist can render infinite help to the Government by putting things in the right way, by explaining both sides of the case, by teaching people what the Government are doing for their benefit, at the same time as they criticise the mistakes that the Government do sometimes make.

2. The newspaper has been defined as an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry, to inform and mould public opinion, and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide. The more our newspapers conform to that definition the more influential they will become, the less need there will be for any control of the press, and the happier the country.

3. If a shorthand writer is the handmaid of the Press, he is also, let me say, the mainstay of the public office system of modern times. There is required of him in his craft not only efficiency - celerity, versatality and capability - but also that supreme quality, honesty. Many secrets pass through your hands - if not also through your minds and memories - and it is of vital importance for you to remember that your employer expects you to keep them for him. A shorthand writer is something more than a mere scribe. He is the trusted custodian of official, or it may be, trade secrets, and so he is bound to respect the interests of those for whom he works zealously guarding their secrets. A secret is a heavy thing, says a French proverb. You must never succumb to the temptation of relieving yourself of the burden.

PUBLIC LIFE.

If there is one thing that is clearer to me than any other in the technique of public life, it is that the speed of human progress increases according to the ratio in which positive creative thought and action exceed negative destructive criticism.

UNITY.

1. I am one of those who feel that the great sacred work of serving the country and its people cannot be achieved by a single individual, however favourably placed, without the hearty co-operation of the people.

2. Unity - how blessed is that word and that idea, so inspiring,

so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. This is the land of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

3. The greatest need of the hour is a spirit of unity and tolerance for the views and acts of others. Every group of community must be prepared to make some sacrifice - sacrifice of self-interest and self-esteem - in the furtherance of our common aims and ambitions. The law of sacrifice is the ethical principle that dominates all life, the only light that guides human conscience. It is an essential element in the realisation of our national destiny.

4. There was a time when ~~almost~~ many people believed that the supreme law in life was that of the struggle for survival which allowed only the fittest to survive. Whatever may be the position of this doctrine in biology, there is no doubt that in human society, belief in mutual aid has replaced the hasty acceptation of the doctrine of the struggle for survival. No community can expect either to prosper or ~~even to~~ survive, unless its members are actuated by a spirit of mutual service.

5. There is a world-wide pressure against the narrowness of personal and group egotism, the individual ambitions and racial superiorities, that are the central influences of the present sub-human condition of humanity. This pressure I regard as the star of hope in the black sky of contemporary human history, the one consolation in an otherwise dismal world. The race is being compelled by external circumstances to give attention to the platitude of human unity that it has failed to recognise from within.

6. Not independence but inter-independence is the law of our life. It is in ministering to one another, in bearing one another's burdens, in sharing one another's joy, that we realize our humanity and truly live. Such is the personal life and such is the way of national and international health, safety, and prosperity. Go out into the world resolved to serve your country in a spirit of true loyalty and devotion, forgetting the petty differences that divide men, regarding all the people living in this land as your own brothers.

CITIZENSHIP.

1. It is to citizen service of an utterly disinterested quality that much of the advancement of the most progressive countries is due.

2. There are two things which I should like everyone of us to develop ~~in ourselves~~. The first is initiative. The second is aesthetic sensibility.

3. It is no special art and it reflects very little credit on a young man simply to fill the position. He is only doing what is expected of him; he is paid to do that. The art lies in doing more than that. The best man is he who does his best.

4. Neighbours should not be strangers, but very positively friends. And when they are facing exactly the same problems, and are dominated by exactly the same purpose - that of securing sufficiency and happiness for the common people - neighbours can and must consult and work together.

5. What we need most of all is a higher socialisation of the race, and a spirit which, instead of cherishing and sanctifying traditional differences, is always seeking points of contact and emphasising the large identical interests rather than the little separate ones. We can never do anything unless we cease to believe that sectarianism is religion, and that caste aggressiveness is reconcilable with national prosperity.

6. The pattern of a woman's life to-day is more like the pattern of a man's life than it used to be fifty years ago. It includes the home and the human relationships which enter therein; it includes work, often outside the home; it includes a wide range of recreation, in sport and in arts, now recognised as an important human need; and it includes the responsibility of citizenship.

7. My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people are

my people, whose very soil is dear. He who has no country is nothing; the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on thin intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people: and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties, and reaches them to us.

8. True patriotism is nothing else than the love of one's country and the desire to make it great - great in the material and in the normal sense. A true patriotism such as this will make no distinction between parties and it will be respected by all parties. Individuals pass like shadows, the State remains fixed and stable. He who works for the State, and whose work contributes to the permanence of the State, is, in the truest sense, a citizen.

DEMOCRACY.

1. Democracy is a ~~terrible~~ formidable creator of work, and to operate it satisfactorily, an adequate staff is essential.

2. It is not always more numbers that decide political issues even in the most democratic constitutions; the personal equation counts for a good deal - much more than is generally ~~credited to~~ thought.

3. India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests; but I believe that ~~it is~~ this very diversity ~~will~~, will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that proposed to be established in our country.

4. It is a most unfortunate fact, as it is a most curious trait in human nature, that it is the man who uses the vilest language and makes the wildest suggestions that more readily gains the ear of a public such as they address, not the man who uses modern language, who speaks with a sense of responsibility and with an eye to reality ? It seems to me that the more this is the case in a country, the less chance there is for true democracy to flourish in it.

LANGUAGES:

ENGLISH.

1. Among the forces that have helped to bring India together, undoubtedly the most potent are the British connection and the English language.

2. English has become the lingua franca, so to say, of not only India but of, perhaps, the largest area of the world; and neither on the national nor on the international plane of intercourse can we afford to dispense with this most useful and powerful instrument. It is one of the great unifying and nation-lising forces in India to-day, indispensable for her national life and growth.

SANSKRIT:

1. Sanskrit is ~~said to be a dead language. It is, no doubt~~, a dead language, but dead only in a sense. In another and more vital sense, it is ~~a language which is~~ very much alive even to-day. For is it not still sustaining and enriching many a living Indian language from its vast store house of Literature ?

2. One cannot contemplate with equanimity, though happily such an eventuality is improbable, a condition of things when Sanskrit would be as divorced from the everyday life of the masses in this country as Latin and Greek are in Europe. A light would have gone from the life of the people, and the distinctive feature of Hindu civilization and culture which have won for it an honoured place in world thought would soon be effaced from the life of the community to the great disadvantage and loss both of India and of the world.

LITERATURE:

1. There is no more valuable acquisition than a taste for reading. There is no human arrangement so powerful for good, there is no benefit that can be bestowed upon a community so great as that which places within

the reach of all the treasures of the world ~~which have~~ stowed up in books.

2. Literature should not only stir the heart, but also clarify the understanding and strengthen the will. If literature is to be a dynamic power, it should embrace not only the dreams of the poets and the transcripts of the novelists, but also the more concrete achievements of the scientist and the social reformer. We need knowledge as well as inspiration.

A R T.

1. ~~I think that~~ A great weakness in our Indian educational system is the almost entire absence of the aesthetic element. The beauty that can be seen for example, is as full of joy and inspiration as that which appeals to the ear or directly to the inward sense, and it has the advantage of an all but universal appeal. But do we take any pains to secure that our young people shall have beauty to look upon each day, so that the two elements of visible beauty, richness and order, many enter into their being, with promise of lifelong happiness ?

2. Life in our country has too long stood gazing at the cloud-land of scholastic thought and ethereal fancy, unrelated to the facts of life and the forces in operation around us. It seems to me that it is not enough for the literature of a country to content itself with gratifying the emotions and titillating the argumentative faculty of man. For the beautifying of life, we need stimulus to action no less than aids to contemplation.

3. There is no art more singular than the Indian. It is in a remarkable degree original and self-contained. It is the expression of the specific sensibility of the Indian people. It is also in many ways one of the purest of all forms of art belonging to a complex and highly organised civilisation. Those characteristics are doubtless derived from the Indian attitude to religion. The splendour of the temple and the mosque was a genuine offering to God.

RELIGION:

1. It may be a platitude - but it does bear repetition - that we can please God best by serving our fellowmen. Social service is one of the noblest manifestations of religion - it is, in fact, religion in practice.

2. The feeling that we alone are eligible for salvation and are entitled to enter the Kingdom of God, and that those professing other religions are doomed to perdition, temporary or eternal, seems ingrained in human nature. A truly enlightened man is he who entertains no such belief who regards all men as brothers and who believes that we are all children of the same Father, each deserving of His mercy according to his own individual Karma.

3. I believe that in the new India, religion, as commonly conceived and practised, will find its own place and will not intrude unnecessarily into worly affairs, where economic factors will always be the guiding consideration. In this way religion will be a blessing to India, not a curse - the curse of religious bigotry. Then will arise in India, great in achievement, great in hope, but greatest of all in the inspiring "will for service" - philanthropic and co-operative service at home and disinterested human service abroad.

4. No one who is aware of the "madding crowd's ignoble strife" of the fanaticism in matters of religious which is eating into the vitals of the national life, can fail to see how sorely is the world in need of a spiritual recipe, the essence of which is something more definite than a mere intellectual understanding of rival faiths, and something more positive than a mere tolerance of them. The mind of the world is distraught; fear, suspicion and hatred flourish. It is in such a world that the great lesson of Sri Ramakrishna's life is felt to be of the greatest value.

L I F E:

Life, more and more abundant ~~life~~ and life, is what is wanted most in any college; energy, enthusiasm, keen desire, eager ambition, and delight in many things. Life means liberty, initiative; everything is impossible if people's efforts are always dashing them against the bars. We should as

far as we possibly can, abolish the miserable word "compulsion", and eliminate "Thou shalt not" from our decalogue for teachers and for students. A sense of responsibility is best cultivated by trusting it.

OUR TIMES

1. We are living in eventful times, which not only have given birth to new problems but are rendering necessary the revision of old solutions.

2. There can be no secure, prosperous India except as a partner in the British Commonwealth; such partnership is essential to world unity and the progress of civilization.

3. Charles James Fox once said of Edmund Burke, "Burke is often right, but he is right too soon! " Let us not be in too great a hurry to make drastic changes.

4. Wide knowledge, wise guidance and concerted action are indispensable requisites for success in these days; for we live in a world struck with man-made chaos and disaster, stumbling from doubt to doubt, from fear to fear, its pride humbled by perplexity, its plenty turned to hunger, its inventions a mockery.

5. Even nations are realising more and more that they cannot live by themselves in comfort or happiness. They must come together and work for their common benefit, for all humanity is really one. What holds good in the case of nations is even more true in the case of people inhabiting the same country, who, although distinct in matters of religion and language, have national and economic interests in common.

6. We live in a world which is being taught or forced to deny the brotherhood of man. Rigid doctrines enforced by iron-handed men have taken hold of large part of mankind and are contending for mastery over the rest. Treaties are violated with impunity; warfare goes on. ~~The world plans for international cooperation has failed~~. The world will be destroyed either by the war that is apprehended or by the burden or preparation for the war that does not come!

7. Of violent revolution the world has had more than enough. Of wars between peoples, infinitely more than enough. Is it not possible that what long ages of fruitless conflict have failed to teach us - the sheer necessity of goodwill and compromise - may be learnt at last, and barely in time, now that the disrupted atom threatens to take charge of us and our affairs ? Many centuries ago, old Thales held that every thing carried to its extreme becomes its opposite. May we not hope that this extreme of destructive discovery may bring the horrified peoples of the world together in a new creative brotherhood ?

I N D I A.

1. A strong, prosperous, and united India in alliance with Britain would wield enormous influence in the world. Together they can serve Humanity as no other possible combination of countries could.

2. What the country needs to-day is not men who are full of doubts, who are afraid of attempting anything big for fear of failing, but men who have the courage of their convictions and will find ways to carry things through.

3. Our great work has to be done in the next thirty years and the cry is for more men to do it - more educated men, men of culture, men of character and sound commonsense, men who can plan and bring to fruition the great deal of a new, happy and united India - as India where every man is first and foremost an Indian, with common rights and responsibilities, common ideals and aspirations, making common history, without undue emphasis on caste or creed or sex or rank or whatever else it is that separates men and women from sharing a common humanity.

4. We, Indians, are speculative and imaginative people, noble qualities these and essential to the mastery of life; but we are not remarkable for practical commonsense.

5. In the grim light of present realities, how petty our differences

appear, how insignificant the racial or religious barriers that separate us. Instead of standing shoulder to shoulder in the service of a common Motherland we are perpetually quarrelling with one another over things that are of no real value either in this world or ~~in~~ the next.

6. The security of the individual, the race, the religion is one of Great Britain's gifts to India, and true patriotism cannot risk its loss.

7. The unifying influence of the British Government and the English language has been such that at least the term "nation" has become applicable, with real significance, to India, and every thought of diversity and rivalry disappears in the new habit of thinking proudly of oneself as an Indian.

8. The sooner this vast country, with its teeming millions and its numerous races and creeds, is consolidated on a truly national basis, with common interests and aspirations, the better will it be for her and for the world in general. For India has a great contribution to make to the peace and happiness of the world, and she can only fulfil her destiny if she herself is united and strong.

9. We are living in a time full of difficulties and perplexities for the human race. Turn to any country in the world, you will find it immersed in doubt and difficulty. It is Indian energies alone that can save India and Indian efforts alone that can prevent her from falling a prey to blind forces. While ever alert to perceive new truth, faithful to the old yet welcoming the new, let us be neither rashly progressive nor obstinately conservative.

10. India is an ancient land, with a very ancient culture, and a profound philosophy, but is an extremely young country from the economic, industrial and scientific points of view: and it is only now that she is opening her eyes, and trying to raise her head and take her rightful place among the nations of the world. Only one thing can debar her from that place, and that is a narrow and selfish outlook on the part of the various sections of her people.

11. Discontent exists throughout the ~~whole length and breadth of~~ the world. It would be a lamentable thing if the people of our country were contented, for a healthy, normal, rational and intelligent discontent ~~is not~~ manifested in a fashion tending towards the general good, if there is no understanding, no coordination, then the discontent finds its expression in ways that will be injurious to progress and civilization.

12. This nation, this democracy, is to be our care. We have always cared much about the distinction of the distinguished, the profoundity of the profound, the peculiarity of the peculiar. But now there is one thing which to India is to matter more than these - the ordinariness of the ordinary, the massive, efficacious, sensible dullness of the educated multitude - and through this the same invaluable quality in the uneducated masses of the people.

13. Though we may live in different ~~Provinces~~ States, ~~and~~ speak different languages ~~and~~, profess different religions and belong to different races, we are all one and inseparable. For the destiny of India is unity. Geography, common dangers, time and inventions work towards its ultimate integration. Indian rivers rise, fall and flow without reference to Provincial or State lines. The mountains are no no longer barriers and bastions. And inventions know no boundaries. Every instrument science achieves, from telephone to television, jumps frontiers.

14. India, like the rest of the world, is in a transition stage today. She is emerging from the conservatism of ages and feeling a t all points the influence of radical ideas. This is true in our politics, in our statesmanship, in our social life, in our business life, in our attitude in all things. The change, even during the last decade or two, has been revolutionary. The spirit of the times is different. We

public servants, even more, perhaps, than the ordinary citizen, must give earnest consideration to this change and adapt ourselves to our new responsibilities.

15. Now, for the first time, if we are rightly guided, the East and the West will meet and unite; the one enriching and fortifying the other and so bringing in a new era of civilization. Within the mind of India, there are certainties strangely contrasted with Western questionings, within her heart (little though the casual observer may think so to-day!) is a peace born of understanding of life for which the West is seeking with ever-growing restlessness. To what heights might not man rise, could but the Western and the Eastern world unite their so profoundly different experience, wisdom and power ?

16. In a country like ours with its diverse castes and creeds, brotherly feeling and the ballot-box seem to go ill together. Undue emphasis is placed on religious and cultural differences, and sentiment is allowed to play too large a part, while commonsense is at a discount. The more we can infuse brotherhood into democracy the happier will be our country.

A X I M S.

1. This is a talkative age.

2. Political advancement is, at bottom, a question of public education.

3. Criticism, like confession, is good for the soul.

4. A vast gulf divides appreciation of realities from mere emotionalism.

5. Associated effort is the order of the day.

6. We need knowledge as well as inspiration.

7. Experience shows that success is due less to ability than to zeal.

8. The finest enthusiasm is enthusiasm for service.

9. There is nothing so good that it cannot be made better.

10. Charity may begin at home but it need not end there.

11. The world to-day is above all else a practical world and it demands results.

12. True philanthropy recognises no boundaries of caste or creed or even relationship.

13. Mere good intentions have no market value; it is actions that command prizes. What the world wants is men who can and will do things.

14. There is no hope, no future, for the community that cannot see beyond its own good.

15. Just as play and exercise are needed for the full development of the body, philosophy, literature and art are essential for the sustenance and full development of mind and spirit.

16. Honesty and zeal are bound to have their reward; and even putting them on the low ground of policy, they pay best in the long run.

17. We learn wisdom from failure much more than from success; we often discover what will do by finding out what will not do; and, probably, he who never made a mistake never made a discovery.

18. Patience is the touchstone of all the virtues. A man who has no patience is inevitably a man full of regrets.

19. Cultivate the habit of thinking. It is remarkable how few people

think.

20. In retrospect, life swarms with lost opportunities and disastrous mistakes.

21. We all know, of course, that what is desirable, is not always possible, and what is possible is not always desirable, but what is both desirable and possible should not be left unattempted or undone.

22. Providence is a strict accountant, neither forgetting nor forgiving. Regardless of our motives, our actions, good or bad, will have their inevitable consequences.

23. The world is in a very exacting mood to-day; it will probably be in a worse mood tomorrow. We have all to justify our existence.

We live in a world struck with man-made chaos and disaster, stumbling from doubt to doubt, from fear to fear, its pride humbled by perplexity, its plenty turned to hunger, its inventions a mockery.

24. There is a vast difference between favours and rewards. Do not seek the former, but strive for the latter. Rewards for honest endeavour is more valuable, because it is more soul-satisfying, than favour received without effort, or as a result of clamour.

25x

Book to Rolls on 30.12.58

(1) Preface
(2) My Family
(3) Myson from its Early Days
(4) Maharaja Chamaraj Wadiyar - Krishnaraj Wadiyar
(5) Indian Trend
(6) Aircraft Factory
(7) Sri K.P.'s Letter
(8) Items for Workers' Cause — 6.1.59

Lothian on Women's Cook

11

NOTES

(1) A seperate note about the appointment of a Commission to advise Government on the setting up of a properly organized secretariat at the Headquarters of Government is attached.

(2) Office working hours

When commercial and others concerns work both in the morning and in the afternoon, why should not the Government offices do the same ?

In Ceylon, for instance, where the climate is more trying than here, the office hours are, I believe, from 9 A.M. to 4,30 P.M. with an hour's interval for lunch and tea.

The climate of Delhi, Calcutta and Madras is much hotter for eight months in the year than in Indonesia, but offices are held in the afternoon as well.

If officials do not work hard and set the example, the public will also be prone to take things easy, and not exert themselves.

(3) Indonesia urgently needs more men in the subordinate ranks, especially, in the Medical, Sanitary and Public Works Departments, also Forest and Agriculture Men of the grade of sub-assistants, Surgeons, Forest Rangers, Overseers and sub-Overseers are needed. If these men are not available in the country, as seems to be the case, it is desirable to get them from outside, They can be replaced as local men become available. If this is not done, progress will be hampered considerably.

(4) The ECA may be asked to start an Arts or a Science College or an Engineering College.

(5) More aircraft for Civil Aviation.

(6) Construction of a new hotel.

(7) Construction of a Jama Masjid in Jakarta.

(8) Publication of H.E. the President's speeches in book-form.

(9) Construction of stadiums at Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Sourabaya Bandung and Medan.

(10) Translation of standard works from foreign languages into Indonesian.

(11) English translater or draftsman.

(12) Barracks for the military and Police

(13) Houses for sweepers.

N O T E.

I have a few suggestions to offer in order to ensure the rapid progress of this country, and to place the administration in a position to deal succesfully with the multitude of difficult problems which are confronting at at the present time, and which will be confronting it in increasing measure in the years not far ahead.

(1) First and foremost, is the question of overhauling the entire administrative machinery, more especially the ministerial section of the Secretariat, I mean the Central Offices of the Government. How is the Secretariat manned at present? How is it working ? Is the personnel employed sufficient and well qualified? How is it recruited ? Is there a civil service in the country? Is there a compatitive examination for entry in the public services? Are the salaries sufficient ? What is the administrative structure in the various provinces? Is there sufficient decentralization of power? These are only a few of the questions that need to be considered and a comprehensive view of the entire administrative structure from the centre to the smallest unit in the administration should be taken and a well-knit, well-organized system should be introduced, retaining all the good and the useful features of the existing system, and adapting it to suit modern conditions.

In order to do this, I suggest that a commision consisting of the most experienced men in the country should be set up, having at its head of outstanding abilities who has dealt with such problems before and acquired fame as a succesful administrator and statesman. The work is such a nature as to need the services of an exceptionally able man. I have such a man in view and if he could be persuaded to take up this responsible work, the Government of Indonesia would have placed the administration on a spund and stable basis and would have rendered services of incalculable value to their country. I am not axaggerating when I say this, for without an efficient administrative machinery, it is hopeless to talk of progress.

I have just sent a telegram
to you as follows :-

I am quite obliged for your
letter of the eleventh but under present
much circumstances impossible for me
from taking up the work -

The work which you wish to entrust
to me ~~is~~ would have interested
me very much than about some months ago
but at present circumstances, I regret to say
are such that it is quite
impossible for me to accept your
proposal I am also not sure, by the best

to you & your brother Rulers from
Kaing Majtt. of the united
Countrie.

with all good will for
your ~~passports~~ welfare.

خدا بیامرزد دیروز پیش از ظهر تعالی

سروده آمد و از جانب شما از من احوال پرسی نموده

از این یاد آوری در محبت بسیار ممنون شدم

سرگیجه و ضعف مانع از حرکت و به خدمت نتوانم

راه بروم شاید ایام درگذشتن از این

دار الفنا قریب شده باشد تقبل فرمایند

و به جای لاعلاج ندارند شما را خط کنند

صحت و طول عمر علیه دعا

محمد حسن

A first class modern hotel is a great desideratum in Jaipur. So also a cheaper but up-to-date hotel for those living in Indian style. I had hoped to put both these projects through as joint stock enterprises with Government participating in them. But time was not sufficient and I left without accomplishing my object.

Lord Willingdon wrote in December 1935 expressing his gratitude to His Highness for his letter. His mind was at complete rest. He felt that he "ought not to have taken too seriously the vapourings of the Press which, I fear are often, inaccurate."

I have wired Sir Mirza, he said, to say that I have no wish at all to suggest to you that you shouldn't extend to Mr. Gandhi such courtesies as to accommodation that you wish to, indeed it would be very impertinent of me to do so; my fear was lest he was really going to be made a State guest.

Let me thank you, Your Highness, very gratefully for your most frank letter and let us both put this matter out of our heads, especially at this season and let me wish Your Highness and Her Highness your mother a very happy Xmas and express the hope that the New Year will bring you the fulfilment of many of your desires.

A first class modern hotel is a great desideratum in Jaipur. So also a cheaper but up-to-date hotel for those living in Indian style. I had hoped to put both these projects through as joint stock enterprises with Government participating in them. But time was not sufficient and I left without accomplishing my object.

4

Meezan 14/5/47

Is It Ominous?

Hyderabad, May 13.

The city lights are putting a poser that today is on the lips of every one.

We yesterday broke the news of the retirement of Sir Mirza Ismail. The illumination at Charminar, the beacon at Nawbatpahad and the subdued gleam at the Town Hall were the three main features, which had received particular attention of His Excellency. Regularly every night and even in the most rigid time of electricity rationing (when the poor were paying surcharge) these edifices were lit to please the aesthetic sense of Sir Mirza. Does the sudden disappearance oflight on charminar and Nawbatpahad reflect of Sir Mirza not coming back? or the Town Hall which is still lighted up kindles yet a hope?